UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE POSITION OF POSSESSIVE AND DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES IN THE *NOCTES ATTICAE* OF AULUS GELLIUS

EDWARD YODER

A THESIS
IN LATIN
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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FOREWORD

The general principles which I have followed in making the present study in Latin word-order have been outlined in an article by B. L. Ullman in *Classical Journal*, Vol. XIV (1918), pp. 404-417, entitled *Latin Word-Order*. My own interest in this subject began a few years ago while making a similar study of the possessive and demonstrative adjectives in Cato and Varro under the direction of Professor Ullman, then head of the Latin department in the State University of Iowa. I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors John C. Rolfe and Roland G. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania for helpful suggestions and criticisms given while making the present study. My thanks are also due to the librarians in the University of Chicago for the free loan of reference books and for their kind assistance in using the Classical Library at that place.

E. Y.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Aim And Method. The purpose of the present study is to ascertain the usage of a particular Latin writer (Aulus Gellius) in regard to the position in which he places certain adjectival modifiers. For this the possessive adjectives *meus*, *noster*, *tuus*, *vester*, *suus* and the demonstrative adjectives *is*, *idem*, *hic*, *ille*, *iste*, *ipse* have been chosen. A few facts on the position of the demonstrative pronoun *is* when used in the genitive case as a possessive of the third person are collected in Appendix A. In a language like Latin, with a comparatively free order of words, the relative emphasis or stress of a word is probably the largest single factor in determining its position in the phrase. This study approaches the question of the position of these words primarily from the point of view of emphasis. For determining the degree of emphasis upon these modifiers the entire context of each example is essential. All the occurrences of the above words as adjectives are collected, studied, and classified. Some studies have already been made of the position of these words, but for the most part on the general principles of usage; only a few detailed studies of the usage of particular authors have been made. In the present study special attention is given to the exceptions to the usual rule of position. The matter of the separation of these words from the noun also receives attention. A few comparisons with the usage of other authors are made wherever material was available.

B. Extent of the Material Used. The material of this study includes the twenty books of the *Noctes Atticae*, of Aulus Gellius. This writer flourished in Italy about the middle of the second century of the Christian era. Judged by classical standards, he was not an author of the first rank. The *Noctes Atticae*, which so far as we know was the only work he ever wrote, is a compilation of shorter and longer chapters on a wide range of subjects, mostly of an antiquarian nature : grammar, rhetoric, linguistics, literary and textual criticism, philosophy, religion, ancient history. Of the original twenty books, the eighth, with the exception of the chapter headings, has not survived. The edition by Hosius covers some 680 pages of Teubner text. Included in

the chapters of the text are many quotations taken verbatim from Latin and Greek authors, ranging from a few words to several pages in length. Some chapters are freely translated or paraphrased from Greek and Latin authors. Other pages are given up to reports of lectures or discourses. It is not in every case easy to tell whether Gellius is quoting or paraphrasing. For the purpose of this study that only has been counted as exact quotation which is accompanied by the name of the author or the title of the work from which it is taken. The possessives and the demonstratives from such quotations have been excluded from the present study as not being properly Gellius' own usage.

C. Bibliographical Material. For a complete bibliography covering the entire subject of word order in Latin, the reader is referred to the work by J. Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine*, pp. IX-XVI, where this bibliographical material is conveniently classified and brief comments are added in the case of those works the titles of which do not indicate the exact nature of the material is dealt with. The list below includes the important titles to which reference is made in the foot-notes of these pages. A few items of more recent date than that of Marouzeau and not included in his bibliography are found in the list.

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II. POSITION OF POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES

The relative position of noun and adjective in a Latin phrase is free, but it is not indifferent. Speaking broadly, in Latin the adjective may come before the noun or after it, and in either of these positions it may be placed next to the noun or be separated from it by one or more words. Note the position of *vetus* in these four passages : Gell. VI 11.2 *veterum hominum* ; X 20.9 *in veteribus tamen scriptis*; IX 4.3 *scriptores veteres*; VI 7.1 *litterarum quoque veterum*. In this sense the order of words is free. It is not indifferent in this respect, namely, that every one of these different positions for the adjective usually gives to the phrase a different turn of meaning or a different degree of emphasis, according to the type of the modifying word, and of the separating word in cases of hyperbaton. It is this possible variation in the order of words in a Latin phrase which gave writers of Latin unusual opportunities for the expression of different shades of thought and meaning. Such comparative freedom in the placing of the adjective is markedly in contrast with the fixed order of words in the English phrase. In our language we are required to place the adjective, and especially the possessive, before the noun which it limits. So, for example, *my book, your lesson, his exercise,* represent the fixed and unchanging order of words in the English phrase. Except in poetry or in other unusual circumstances, the only variation permissible is that of placing other modifiers between the possessive and the noun, as in *my black book, your difficult exercise.*

The possessives in Latin are the adjective forms of the personal and the reflexive pronouns. As such they are in function properly determinative adjectives[1]. Determinative adjectives follow the noun which they modify, unless they are emphasized in a contrast or otherwise. Good illustrations of determinative adjectives are those derived from proper names : Gell. I 11.1 *historiae Graecae*; XVI 13.7 *bello Gallico*; XV 30.6 *vox Gallica*. These adjectives specifically limit the noun and narrow down the meaning of the phrase to a smaller category than that

1. Marouzeau, p.133.

denoted by the noun unmodified. There seems to be a natural and logical sequence of ideas in this order of words in the Latin phrase. The larger and more comprehensive term is expressed first; it is followed by the determinative modifier which restricts the thought to a smaller sphere. Conceivably the order noun + adjective is the original one for the group. When this natural order of words is reversed and the adjective placed first, both the strangeness of the order and the prior utterance of the determining word call special attention to it, and thereby emphasis is secured [2].

In classical Latin the possessives are employed less freely than in English and in some other modern languages. In Latin they are not used unless they are required for clearness or used for contrast [3]. If the general context makes clear the meaning and application of the noun, the possessive is regularly omitted. In the terse and succinct prose of early Latin, written by practical Romans who were men of affairs, little need was felt for the possessive adjectives, which are used so freely in modern languages [4]. This feature of Latin style appears the more natural when it is recalled that Latin got along without both the definite and the indefinite article, which we find constantly useful in writing and speaking English.

A. Position of Unemphatic Possessives

1. Possessives Used Superfluously. Aulus Gellius in his Latin writing was the product of the rhetorical style of his age. At the same time, like other scholars of the same period, he was an ardent admirer of the purer Latinity of earlier times. He constantly quotes the *scriptores veteres* and *vetustiores* as final authority in case of a dispute regarding the usage, the orthography, or the pronunciation of a word. In general, he employs the possessives in the same position as Latin prose writers of the best period, although exceptions and variations are numerous, as we shall see. He uses possessives more freely than the earlier writers. They are found frequently in a context where they could easily be omitted

2. Köne, pp. 2, 16; Marouzeau, p. 17. The opposite view, that the order adjective + noun is original, is set forth by A. Bergaigne in *Mélanges Graux* (1884), pp. 333-343. On the position of the possessive he has the following remark (p. 337 n.): « Les adjectifs possessifs sont également construits presque aussi souvent après qu'avant. Y a-t-il un lien entre cette construction et celle du génitif, qui se construit aussi très souvent après le substantif ? »

3. Lane, 2346.

4. e.g., Cato's *de agricultura liber*.

without loss to the clearness of the thought. It is also easy to find passages in Gellius without the possessive, in accordance with the usual principle, where it would be supplied in an English translation. This is often the case with nouns denoting relationship, such as *pater* and *filius* :

I 23.4 mos antea senatoribus Romae fuit in curiam cum praetextatis *filiis* introire; "It was formerly the custom at Rome for senators to enter the Curia accompanied by their minor sons."

Passages in Gellius which illustrate the unnecessary use of the possessive are frequent. In these the possessive appears to be used only for fullness of expression. Parallel passages which show the use and the omission of the possessive adjectives are the following :

I 23.5 mater Papirii pueri, qui cum *parente suo* in curia fuerat, percontata est *filium*, quidnam in senatu patres egissent.

The possessive with *parente* is unnecessary in this context, as much so as with *filium*. Compare further the following passages :

II 1.4 temperantia quoque fuisse eum (*sc.* Socraten) tanta traditum est, ut omnia fere *vitae suae* tempora valitudine inoffensa vixerit : V 9.6 atque is (*sc.* filius Croesi regis) oris vinculo solutus per omne inde *vitae* tempus non turbide neque adhaese locutus est.

I 3.1 eum Chilonem in *vitae suae* postremo: 8 eaque res in fine quoque *vitae* ipso animum eius (*sc.* Chilonis) anxit.

XVIII 2.8 quod Plato in civitate, quam in *libris suis* condidit : XVII 12.2 (Favorinus) lepida sane multa et non facilia inventu in utramque causam dixit eaque scripta in *libris* reliquit.

XVI 18.1 pars quaedam geometriae ὀπτική appellatur, quae ad oculos pertinet, pars altera, quae ad auris, κανονική vocatur, qua musici ut fundamento *artis suae* utuntur : VI 5.3 is Polus (*sc.* histrio in terra Graeca) unice amatum filium morte amisit. eum luctum quoniam satis visus est eluxisse, rediit ad quaestum *artis*.

In the next the possessive is rendered superfluous, so far as the meaning is concerned, by the relative clause which follows it :

XX 8.1 Annianus poeta in *fundo suo*, quem in agro Falisco possidebat, agitare erat solitus vindemiam hilare atque amoeniter.

Gellius sometimes adds the possessive to the title of a literary work which he mentions in connection with an author's name. No ambiguity is possible if it is omitted. With the title *historia* or *historiae* he omits the possessive regularly, as in I 11.7 Herodotus in *historiis* : VII 4.2 Tubero in *historiis* : IX 12.14 Sallustius in *historia* prima.

With other titles his practice varies; sometimes he leaves out the

possessives and at other times he adds it in exactly parallel circumstances :

I 22.12 ne Vergilii quidem poterit auctoritate uti, qui in *georgicis* ita scribsit : XVIII 5.7 P. Vergilius... qui hunc eius versum secutus in *georgicis suis*.

X 24.10 Cn. Matius, homo impense doctus, in *mimiambis* : XV 25.1 Cn. Matius, vir eruditus, in *mimiambis suis*.

With *commentarii* the possessive is more often used than omitted :

III 9.1 Gavius Bassus in *commentariis suis* : X 5.1 P. Nigidius dicit in *commentariorum* undetricesimo.

These passages illustrate the fact that Gellius frequently added the possessive adjective where it is not needed for clearness. In reading the *Noctes Atticae* it is apparent that the author was fond of rhythmical and melodious language. He repeatedly expresses himself to this effect [5]. Unessential words and particles are often used in prose for producing what has been termed the "repose of the accent" in the rhetorical rhythm [6]. The Greek language was better supplied with particles for such uses than Latin. The use of superfluous possessives doubtless helped Gellius to attain some rhythm in his pròse, although this feature is not especially conspicuous in his style. The above examples show that the possessive when it is added for rhetorical fullness of speech regularly stands after the noun, which is its normal position when unemphatic. There are many other passages in which the possessive is not needed. It is not easy to say in all instances whether it is essential for clearness or not. Different interpretations may be possible in some cases, according to the meaning the reader gives to the phrase. In the following list the possessive in each instance appears to be needless because the context makes clear the meaning of the noun. The possessive regularly follows the noun :

5. In XI 13.4 he says : " cursus igitur hic et sonus rotundae volubilisque sententiae eximie nos et unice delectabat, tanto id magis, quod iam tunc C. Graccho, viro inlustri et severo, eiusmodi compositionem fuisse cordi videbamus." Greek diction was especially pleasing to his ear. For additional expressions of the kind see : X 3.15 : VI 20.2 : XII 1.24 : XVI 1.1.

6. Weil, pp. 89-94; A. Klotz (*Philologische Wochenschrift*, 47.969) in discussing certain irregularities in the position of possessive modifiers states the same principle : " Die Lösung finde ich auch hier in der Beobachtung der Betonungsverhältnisse im Satze. Dabei ergibt sich nämlich, dass im Lateinischen neben einem betonten Wort in demselben Komma ein unbetontes steht. "

Praef. 9, 10 : I 7.3; 12.12; 26.8 : II 27.5 : III 3.15; 18.3 : IV 10.6 : V 3.1 (corpore suo); 5.7; 14.4 : VI 20.1 : VII 2. *lem.*; 5.8; 7.6 : IX 13.5 : X 19.2 (tuae) : XI 3.4; 5.4, 7; 10. *lem.* : XII 1.5, 8, 19; 5.11 (suam); 10.8 : XIII 16.3; 25.12; 28.4 (*bis*)[7] : XIV 2.17 (suis) : XV 15. *lem.*; 20.3; 24.1 : XVII 10.5; 11.1; 21.1, 13 : XVIII 3.2; 10.8 : XIX 1.14 : XX 1.8.

2. Possessives Necessary for Clearness (Unemphatic). Many possessives in Gellius are employed for clearness. When the exact application of the noun is not apparent from the context, the possessive is added as a necessary tag, to make clear the meaning of the passage. None of the examples here classified is emphatic by contrast or comparison.

a) Possessives of the first person used for clearness :

Praef. 23 quantum autem vitae mihi deinceps deum voluntate erit quantumque a tuenda re familiari procurandoque cultu *liberorum meorum* dabitur otium.

Without the addition of the possessive *meorum* in this passage someone could carelessly infer that Gellius was serving as a family tutor or as an elementary school teacher. The possessive makes clear that they are his children for whose education he is planning.

II 3.1 h litteram... inserebant eam *veteres nostri* [8] plerisque vocibus : VII 15.1 *amicus noster*, homo multi studii : V 4.1 Iulius Paulus poeta, vir *memoria nostra*[9] doctissimus.

The possessive *noster* is used in a special sense to mean " human " [10] in VII 2.7 quamquam ita sit, inquit, ut ratione quadam necessaria et principali coacta atque conexa sint fato omnia, ingenia tamen ipsa *mentium nostrarum* proinde sunt fato obnoxia.

b) Possessives of the second person used for clearness :

IX 3.5 quod equidem dis habeo gratiam, non proinde quia natus est, quam pro eo, quod nasci contigit temporibus *vitae tuae*.

So wrote King Philip of Macedon to Aristotle upon the birth of

7. The numeral adverbs *bis* and *ter* are added when more than one example occurs in the section referred to.

8. Phrases of the type *veteres nostri* are taken up later as a group under Special Phrases (p. 32).

9. This type of phrase is also treated separately on page 31.

10. For *noster* with this meaning, cf. Gell. XI 5.7 where *sensus hominum* is repeated immediately afterwards by *sensus nostros*. The usage is common. See Lucr. *de rerum natura*, I 122 ; II 37, and W. A. Merrill's notes *ad locc.*

Alexander. The principal emphasis of the sentence contrasts the fact of his birth with the time of its occurrence and *tuae* is essential to the meaning. With the last three words Gellius renders the Greek phrase, κατὰ τὴν σὴν ἡλικίαν.

XVII 9.25 mandasse me dicito, ut *caput tuum*, sicut nuper egomet feci, deradat.

Vester is used also with the meaning " which you are interested in ", " which is your specialty ". This use is an extension from that of simple possession and can possibly be regarded as a superfluous addition. It does, however, add something to the thought : XVI 10.5 cum illic se iuris, non rei grammaticae peritum esse respondisset, eo maxime inquam te dicere hoc oportet, quando, ut praedicas peritus iuris es. nam Q. Ennius verbum hoc ex duodecim *tabulis vestris* accepit.

The reference is to the famous XII Tables of Roman law.

c) Possessives of the reflexive pronoun used for clearness :

III 10.17 tum ibi addit se... ad eum diem septuaginta hebdomadas librorum conscripsisse, ex quibus aliquammultos, cum proscriptus esset, direptis *bibliothecis suis* non comparuisse.

The omission of *suis* would leave it unclear in the reader's mind what libraries are meant; therefore, the possessive is needful for the correct understanding of the sentence.

I 5.2 Q. Hortensius omnibus ferme oratoribus *aetatis suae*[11], nisi M. Tullio, clarior : IX 11.10 statuam Corvino isti divus Augustus in *foro suo* statuendam curavit.

There were numerous fora in Rome and the addition of *suo* in the last passage is necessary for the identification of the particular forum to which the writer refers.

The passages quoted so far are typical examples of the possessive adjectives which are used by Gellius for clearness. They are without emphasis of their own and they regularly follow the noun.

d) Special phrases containing an unemphatic possessive. A number of special phrases are found in Gellius, some of them stereotyped and more or less formal, which include a possessive adjective used without emphasis. These also stand after the noun :

(1) Possessive with *animus*. There was a formula used by the censors at Rome : IV 20.4 ut tu ex *animi tui* sententia uxorem habes? in which the phrase *animi tui* is equivalent to the possessive *tua*, " to

11. All the occurrences of this phrase are treated together as a special type on pages 33-4.

the best of your knowledge ". A certain man possessed of a humorous turn of mind could not forego the opportunity to make a play on the formal words of this question when it was put to him. His reply was : habeo equidem uxorem, sed non hercle ex *animi mei* sententia [12]. The last phrase equals *ex sententia mea*. Other occurrences are :

I 3.5 multa cum *animo meo*... consultavi, " I reflected much with myself". *Cum animo meo* is here equivalent to *mecum*. X 17.1 animi sui : XVI 8.16 in animo tuo : XIX 1.18 animi sui, 19 animi sui : similar is VI 3.12 de statu mentis suae, which equals *de statu suo*.

(2) Possessive with *causa*. Like the above is *causa* followed by a possessive. The phrase occurs only twice : V 10.14 nam si iudices pro *causa mea* senserint, nihil tibi ex sententia debebitur... sin contra me pronuntiaverint.

The phrase *pro causa mea* is equivalent to *pro me*, as is shown by the fact that it is contrasted with *contra me*. The other instance is VI 3.6 verbisque suppliciter pro *causa sua* factis.

(3) *domus sua* in the locative and ablative cases is in Gellius a stereotyped phrase meaning " at home " and " from home" respectively. The possessive has little force and can even be considered superfluous : VII 10.4 e *domo sua* Megaris Athenas ad Socratem commeabat : XX 1.11 ex domo sua, 26 domi suae.

This order of words is not reversed even when the phrase is emphatic in a contrast, as is shown in II 2.10 itaque utere apud me his honoribus prius, quibus *domi quoque vestrae* te uti priorem decet.

(4) Possessives in appositional phrases. The possessive is usually for clearness in such phrases but is never stressed. I 18. *lem.* L. Aelium, magistrum suum : IV 11.7 e Xenophilo Pythagorico, familiari suo ; 18.8 L. Scipioni Asiatico, fratri suo : V 10.3 Euathlum, discipulum suum : X 6.2 P. Claudius, frater meus : XIII 8.4 Macedo philosophus... familiaris meus; 20.8 Saloni, clientis sui : XIV 7.2 M. Varronem, familiarem suum : XV 7.3 Gaium, nepotem suum : XVI 10.3 quempiam... familiarem meum.

Exception : For no apparent reason the possessive precedes in such a phrase once. The phrase is more or less felt as a formal one. The type will be considered more fully later [13] : V 21.1 pluria forte quis dixit sermocinans vir adprime doctus, *meus amicus*.

12. i.e., instead of replying gravely, " I have a wife to the best of my knowledge ", he said, " Indeed I do have a wife, but by Hercules, she's not to my liking . "

13. Page 31.

(5) The phrase *nummi nostri* or its equivalent occurs in three places :

I 8.5 at Lais μυρίας δραχμὰς poposcit, hoc facit *nummi nostratis* denarium decem milia : III 17.3 emisse talentis Atticis tribus : ea summa fit *nummi nostri* sestertia duo et septuaginta milia : V 2.2 emptum Chares scripsit talentis tredecim et regi Philippo donatum ; hoc autem *aeris nostri* summa est sestertia trecenta duodecim.

In these three passages Roman currency is contrasted with Greek. The words *nummus* and *aes* are technical terms for Roman coins or units of monetary value, just as δραχμή and τάλαντον for Greek. The contrast is between the nouns, and the possessives are added for clearness or mere fullness of expression. A parallel would be a comparison of French francs and American dollars, where the adjectives could ordinarily be omitted without loss of clarity.

Besides the illustrative examples already given, and the special types, the other places where an unemphatic possessive seems to be necessary for clearness are these :

First Person : I 3.25 ; 7.4, 16 : II 18.10[14] ; 29.11 : V 13.2 (*bis*); 14.23 (meis); 21.5, 9 : VI 18.2 : VII 2.11 : X 1.5 : XI 18. *lem.* : XIII 11.4; 21.2; 31.10 : XIV 2.12 : XIX 5.1.

Second Person : I 2.6 : IV 18.3 : X 19.2 (vestri) : XII 13.18 : XIII 21.1, 8 : XIV 6.1 : XVII 20.5 : XVIII 10.7 : XIX 5.4; 10.13 : XX 1.21.

Third Person : Praef. 6 : I 1.2; 20.6; 24.1; 26.5 : II 2.2; 11.4; 18.10; 22.27; 23.8; 24.11 : III 8.1; 9.5; 10.6 : IV 12.1 (*bis*); 14.5 (*bis*); 17.15; 18.3 : V 1.6 : VI 3.5, 10; 17.3 ; 20. *lem.* : VII 8.2 (suum); 10. *lem.*; 13.2 : IX 13.20 : X 1. *lem.*; 19.4; 24.2 : XI 18.24 : XII 1.1, 4, 13, 18, 21 ; 5.7 (*bis*) (sui) (e seminibus suis), 9, 11 (suos); 9.4 : XIII 2.2; 5. *lem.*, 2, 5 ; 24.1 (suas) : XIV 1.7; 2.17 (sui) : XV 6.2; 12. *lem.* : XVI 13.2; 19.10 : XVII 5.10; 7.3; 9.6 (*bis*), 22; 10.1 ; 20.2 : XVIII 2.3 ; 10.5 (suo) : XIX 1.12, 20; 7.16; 8.10 : XX 1.13, 20; 9. *lem.*, 1.

B. Position of Emphatic Possessives

When the possessive adjective, besides being necessary for clearness, is itself emphatic, it is placed before the noun instead of after it. The possessive may be stressed through comparison or through contrast. A

14. This passage involves a play on the word *liberos*, which, however, does not affect the force of the possessive.

contrast may be either directly expressed or implied in the general context. The passages in which the possessive is emphatic are here classified according to the manner in which the possessive is brought into relief [15].

1. Emphasis by Repetition :

XVII 1.6 quae ipsi fecimus aut quae de *nostra voluntate nostroque consilio* facta sunt.

The repetition of *noster* with nouns closely related in meaning shows that emphasis is placed upon it. In the next passage the repetition of *nos* and *noster* indicates that in the phrase *extraque nostrum animum* the possessive carries the principal idea and is emphatic. The noun *animum* is added for the needed clearness : II 29.19 ut in nobis tantum ipsis nitamur, alia autem omnia, quae extra *nos* extraque *nostrum animum* sunt, neque pro *nostris* neque pro *nobis* ducamus.

II 8.7 synlogismum tamquam in scolis philosophorum cum *suis numeris* omnibus et cum *suis finibus*.

The possessive *suus* repeated here is emphatic. It is not used as a direct reflexive to denote possession, but in an extended sense meaning "exact", "correct", "proper". *Suus* can also here be regarded as emphatic by implied contrast. Of this type of contrast other examples are given later.

2. Emphasis by Expressed Contrast.

a) A second idea is contrasted or correlated with a preceding one :

XIV 3.2 quod neque a Platone in tot numero libris mentio usquam facta sit Xenophontis neque item contra ab eo in *suis libris* Platonis.

The second *libris* is hardly necessary even for clearness. The possessive carries the burden of the contrast and the emphasis. Other examples of the same kind are : XVI 13.8 sed coloniarum alia necessitudo est... ex civitate quasi propagatae sunt et iura institutaque omnia populi Romani, non *sui arbitrii*, habent : XII 6.1 quae Graeci dicunt aenigmata, hoc genus quidam ex *nostris veteribus* scirpos appellaverunt : I 22.10 Graecos enim περισσὸν in utramque partem ponere...; sic *nostros quoque veteres* superesse alias dixisse.

In the last example the possessive is brought into strong relief by the addition of the adverb *quoque* between it and the following substan-

15. Included here are only those examples which stand next to the noun. The emphatic possessives which are separated from the noun come under Separation.

tive. This is a common means used by Gellius to emphasize contrast. Since it involves the separation of possessive and noun, the remaining examples of the kind will appear later under the general subject of Separation [16].

b) The first idea anticipates the comparison with the second : More frequently the contrast or comparison is anticipated already in the first of a pair of contrasted ideas and is brought out by putting the possessive first in this member. In the first part of a comparison, other things being equal, the regular determinative or enunciative order of words would logically be expected [17]. This principle seems to be operative in two passages in Gellius which exhibit the usual unemphatic order of words in the first of a pair of contrasted phrases : V 19.10 tutoribus in pupillos tantam esse auctoritatem potestatemque fas non est, ut caput liberum *fidei suae* commissum *alienae dicioni* subiciant.

The contrast in this sentence does not begin until *alienae* is reached, which is put first in its phrase for emphasis. The possessive *suae* is really unemphatic and used for clearness. The contrast of the sentence is brought out by what has been called regressive emphasis [18]. Another factor may be invoked to explain the order of words in these contrasted phrases, namely, chiasmus, the nouns being the extremes and the adjectives the means : *fidei suae* : *alienae dicioni*. But this principle may as easily account for the emphatic placing of the adjective *alienae* in the second phrase as for the unemphatic position of *suae* in the first. The second passage which shows the contrast not anticipated differs from the first in that the nouns are of different meaning. Again the possessive is for clearness and there is chiasmus : VI 3.24 quod erat procul dubio *opinionis suae* professio, non *Rodiensium culpae* confessio.

The examples which illustrate the contrast anticipated in the first member of a comparison or contrast are these :

II 15.4 qui pluris liberos quam collega aut in *sua potestate* habet aut bello amisit; 23.1 comoedias lectitamus *nostrorum poetarum* sumptas ac versas de Graecis Menandro aut Posidippo : IV 15.5 *sui operis* difficultate est arduum, non opinionis alienae erroribus : V 16.4 *sua vi* et externa nixum : VII 2.13 quae pessime fecerunt, ea non *suae temeritati*, sed fato esse attribuenda dicunt : IX 11.8 et *sua virtute* nixus et opera alitis : XIV 2.18 nisi is, qui iudicat, crebris interrogationibus

16. See also note 8, p. 14.
17. Marouzeau, p. 17.
18. Menk, p. 35.

necessariisque interlocutionibus et *suos sensus* aperiat et litigantium deprehendat : XVI 13.8 sed coloniarum alia necessitudo est; non enim veniunt extrinsecus in civitatem nec *suis radicibus* nituntur, sed ex civitate quasi propagatae sunt : XVII 3.3 tum ille prorsum inritatus; non, inquit, *meo libro* versus iste, sed vobis plane magister defuit.

In the last passage the contrast is really between *libro* and *vobis*, but the speaker's wounded pride leads him to emphasize the personal side of the controversy by emphatically placing the possessive first in the contrast which he anticipates.

3. Emphasis by Implied Contrast. Sometimes the contrast of ideas is not expressed directly as in the passages noted so far, but it is implied indirectly in the context. The following examples illustrate the use of the possessive when it is emphasized in indirect contrast or comparison.

II 21.4 hic ego ad *nostros iuvenes* convertor.

A group of Romans and Greeks are discussing the derivation of certain words. The Greeks have learnedly given their opinions. Gellius here turns upon his own compatriots with a question on the same point. *Nostros* is stressed in contrast.

II 22.20 (*bis*) sunt porro alia quaedam nomina quasi peculiarium ventorum, quae incolae in suis quisque regionibus fecerunt aut ex locorum vocabulis, in quibus colunt, <aut> ex alia qua causa, quae ad faciendum vocabulum acciderat. *nostri* namque *Galli* ventum ex *sua terra* flantem... circium appellant.

These are given as the words of the philosopher Favorinus, who was a native of Gallia Narbonensis, and the contrast implied in *nostri* and *sua* is between the people of this district and those of Gallia proper.

III 15.4 praeterea in *nostris annalibus* scriptum legimus.

In the preceding sections the author relates from Greek sources three instances of persons who died as a consequence of great and unexpected joy. In Roman annals too he has read of such an occurrence, hence the emphasis upon *nostris*.

VI 17.4 composuit enim Plautus tamquam duo inter se contraria plane et obnoxie, quod a *tua significatione* longe abest; 9 Vergilius verbo isto utitur a *tua sententia* diverse.

The contrast in these passages is between the meaning of a word as used by Plautus and Vergil and the meaning given by the person whom Gellius addresses. He also implies his own disagreement with

the opinion put forth. Besides the indirect contrast expressed by *tua*, there is felt in it a touch of scorn which also adds to the emphasis. In XII 13.18 Gellius says : *contra rationem tuam*, when he, on the authority of Cicero, modestly ventures to differ with his teacher Apollinaris, whom he highly respects, and *tuam* is added for clearness.

XIV 2.25 sed maius ego altiusque id esse existimavi, quam quod *meae aetati* et mediocritati conveniret, ut cognovisse et condemnasse de moribus, non de probationibus rei gestae viderer.

Gellius implies that it might have been suitable for a judge of more years and higher standing than himself to render the decision which he felt was right. Other passages in which the possessive is emphasized by implied contrast or comparison are: IV 18.12 eumque librum statim coram discidit *suis manibus*. Also XI 18.5 sua lege : XII 1.24 mea tenuitas : XIII 15.3 meis verbis : XIV 5.3 secundum tuam definitionem; 6.5 meae noctes : XVI 13.4 cum suis moribus legibusque; 19.11 suis manibus : XVIII 10.4 nostris verbis; 11.1 mea opinio : XIX 9.7 nostrorum poetarum.

The possessive in the same position and emphatic by implied contrast may also be the predicate : I 18.6 in hac re de viro tam excellentis doctrinae non *meum iudicium* est.

The above passages show that the possessive when it is emphatic by implied contrast stands regularly first in its phrase. There are also a number of special types of phrase used by Gellius which have the possessive before the noun because of an implied contrast.

a) In direct address (vocative case), the possessive of the first person precedes the noun. Only *mi* occurs. The expression of personal feeling implies a contrast which brings into relief the possessive by putting it first. It often has the force of the English " my dear " or the French " mon cher " [19] : II 26.16 non igitur, inquit, *mi Favorine*, species rufi coloris plures aput Graecos, quam aput nos nominantur, 20 mi Fronto : V 3.6 mi adulescens : XIII 20.5 mi fili : XV 9.7 mi magister : XX 1.27, 31, 34 (*ter*) mi Favorine.

b) The phrase *sua sponte* commonly has the possessive in the first place. There is usually a contrast implied between voluntary action and external constraint : X 17.1 Democritum philosophum in monu-

19. The possessive *mi* with proper nouns is always put first in the *Epp. ad Familiares* of Cicero, excepting twice : VII 13.1 Testa mi; 29.1 Cicero mi; see Marouzeau, p. 138.

mentis historiae Graecae scriptum est... luminibus oculorum *sua sponte* se privasse. The phrase is found further in XII 5.11; 11.4: XIV 1.23.

Exception: Once, without any apparent reason, this phrase is found with the order of words reversed, *sponte sua* [20]: X 12.2 accipitrem avium rapidissimum a chamaeleonte humi reptante, si eum forte supervolet, detrahi et cadere vi quadam in terram ceterisque avibus laniandum *sponte sua* obiicere sese et dedere.

Sua sponte appears to have become in Latin prose a stereotyped expression and the reversed order of the words, as illustrated in this passage, is not often found. Once in the *Orations* of Cicero *sponte sua* occurs as against 43 cases of the regular order [21]. In the Latin poets *sponte sua* is frequent. Lucretius [22] used the phrase with this order at least fifteen times as a vigorous and handy beginning for the hexameter line. Vergil also has *sponte sua*. But *sua sponte* did not so far become a stereotyped expression that the possessive was felt to be indispensable, for the phrase was sometimes shortened by dropping the possessive entirely. *Sponte*, meaning " of his own accord ", is found in the poets and in post-Augustan prose. Two examples from Gellius are: VII 2.5 si homines ad maleficia non *sponte* veniunt, sed fato trahuntur; 17.3 diripitur ea civitas, non *sponte* neque opera consulta, sed a militibus forte auxiliaris incensa sunt.

c) *Suus* in legal phrases of a technical nature: V 19.4 adrogantur hi, qui, cum *sui iuris* sunt, in alienam sese potestatem tradunt.

The contrast with *sui iuris* is here in fact expressed. The phrase was technically used to mean " independent ". It may be its stereotyped nature which prevented the chiastic arrangement of the words in the two phrases: *sui iuris . . . alienam potestatem*. Cf. V 19.10 fidei suae: alienae dicioni; IV 15.5 sui operis: opinionis alienae.

XVIII 6.9 quoniam non in matrimonium tantum, sed in familiam quoque mariti et in *sui heredis* locum venisset (*sc.* mater familias).

20. In a free paraphrase from Pliny, *N. H.* XXVIII 8. 112, *sponte sua* here replaces the word *voluntarium*.

21. The single passage in Cicero is *pro Sest.* 100, audaces homines et perditi nutu impelluntur/ et ipsi etiam *sponte sua*/ contra rem publicam incitantur; see Menk, pp. 7, 11. Klotz (*loc. cit.*) would read this sentence in word groups as indicated by the marks and explain *sua* as emphatic at the end of a κῶλον. It is possible that the phrase in Gellius has a like explanation: detrahi et cadere vi quadam in terram/ ceterisque avibus laniandum *sponte sua*/ obiicere sese et dedere.

22. See W. A. Merrill's note on Lucr. I 214.

In the phrase *suus heres* the possessive stands regularly first. Historically it was undoubtedly emphatic by contrast [23].

d) *Suus* with the meaning " right ", " proper ", " inherent " [24]. A contrast is usually implied with what is incorrect : IV 1.18 (*bis*) quoniam civibus Romanis Latine loquentibus rem non <*suo*> *vocabulo* [25] demonstrare non minus turpe est, quam hominem non *suo nomine* appellare : II 8.7 synlogismum ... cum *suis numeris* omnibus et cum *suis finibus*; 7.16 quae *sua vi* recta aut honesta sunt : XVIII 10.5 quod venae quidem *suapte vi* inmobiles sint : X 11.4 quando ea, quae praeter *sui temporis* modum properata sunt inmatura verius dicantur.

Exception : In one place where *suus* has this meaning the order of words is reversed. It occurs within four lines of the example last quoted above : X 11.3 nam et in frugibus et in pomis matura dicuntur, quae neque cruda et inmitia sunt neque caduca et decocta, sed *tempore suo* adulta maturataque.

C. Separation and the Possessive Adjective

In an inflected language like Latin it is permissible to separate the noun and its modifier by inserting between them one or more words. The ancients regarded hyperbaton or separation (as well as inversion of order) as a device used to secure certain effects pleasing to the ear, such as smoothness and rhythm [26]. Modern authorities look upon such a disarrangement of words as due not primarily to the striving for a pleasing smoothness of phrase, but as being based more fundamentally upon the logical succession of the concepts of apperception [27]. One feature of the psychological process which may lead to the separation of noun and modifier is a desire for emphasis. Separation brings into prominence one or the other, sometimes both, of the words which are separated. Usually it is the first that is made to stand out. For example, separation adds emphasis to the first word, which in the following is the noun : *ne oculis quidem suis*. The words *ne...quidem* take into their midst the word which is stressed, " not even with his eyes ". Similarly, emphasis is placed on the possessive when it stands first and is separated from the noun : *in suis quisque regionibus* ; " ev-

23. Albrecht, p. 13.

24. Lane, 2346.

25. *Suo*, following the lectio vulgata, is rightly restored to the text before the noun.

26. Cf. *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4.32 ; Cic., *Orat.* 44 ; Quint. 8.6.

27. Meader, *Notes on the Order of Words in Latin* ; Weil, p. 8.

ery one in his own region ". The possessive also stands between an adjective and a noun, as in *de his meis verbis*, " concerning these words of mine ".

When the possessive is separated from its noun, the separating element may be an integral part of the phrase, as in *fortunisque omnibus suis*. Or it may be an entirely foreign element, as in *animum hercle meum*. If the possessive is one of two modifiers used with the noun and these both either precede or follow the noun, it is apparent that one must be separated and the other must be a separator. Such a separation is not really a case of hyperbaton, but the instances are included in this study for the sake of completeness [28].

In the following pages the cases of separation in Gellius which involve a possessive are classified on the basis of the position of the possessive and, further, according to the type of the separating word or element. The general rule already observed for the position of the possessive according to emphasis is not affected by separation, excepting in a few cases which will be duly noted.

1. The Following Possessive Separated from the Noun (31). The possessive following the noun is separated from it 31 times. The variety of elements used as separators is small. They consist regularly of either a single word or a short phrase. The effect of the separation upon the possessive is nothing so far as relates to its emphasis. In most cases it is necessary for clearness; sometimes it is superfluous. The noun as the first word of the phrase is frequently made to stand out emphatically by the separation. This is especially true when the separator is some intensive or adversative word like *quoque* or *autem*.

a) Adverbs. *quoque* : Praef. 1 ut liberis quoque meis partae istiusmodi remissiones essent : I 15.20 veteres quoque nostri : II 2.10 domi quoque vestrae : III 3.6 Favorinus quoque noster : VII 14.4 veteres quoque nostri : XVII 10.3 ingenii quoque sui : XX 1.13 Labeo quoque vester ; 5.6 libros quoque suos. *quidem* : VII 8.2 ne oculis quidem suis. *autem* : I 3.25 honestatis autem nostrae : IX 2.10 maiores autem mei ; 5.8 Taurus autem noster : XI 18.6 decemviri autem nostri.

b) Verbs. *inquit* (this verb is parenthetical and very weak in emphasis) : I 3.2 dicta, inquit, mea factaque : VII 10.2 decreto, inquit, suo ;

28. Although examples of this kind are not cases of hyperbata in the strict sense of the term, still such groups are common enough to be recognized in a discussion of the position of adjectives. Marouzeau (*Revue des Études Latines*, V [1927], p. 204) objects to classifying them under Separation.

13.10 Plato, inquit, noster : XII 5.5 amicus, inquit, hic noster : XX 8.4 Lucilium, inquit, nostrum. *fiat* : XVI 18.3 imago fiat tua eiusmodi.

c) Expletive. *hercle* : X 3.8 animum hercle meum.

d) Noun. *magister* (voc. case) : XIII 31.11 recte, inquam, sit oculis, magister, tuis.

e) Adjective. *omnis* : III 9.3 cum omni domo, familia fortunisque omnibus suis.

f) Phrase. XVII 1.6 ea nobis post incipiunt displicere sententiamque *in iis* nostram demutamus.

g) Pronouns. X 21.2 in libris *id* suis scripserint : XIII 22.1 discipulos *quosdam* suos senatores vidisset.

In the last the possessive is plainly unemphatic. After speaking of Castricius as a teacher, Gellius says here, " when he had looked at certain pupils (of his) of senatorial rank ".

Exceptions : In another passage the possessive in the same position as in the last example above is emphatic by contrast : XIX 1.15 visa animi...non voluntatis sunt neque arbitraria, sed *vi quadam sua* inferunt sese hominibus noscitanda ; " by a certain force of their own ".

Similar is another passage : XVII 9.3 *locus cuique suus* et potestas ; " to each (letter) its rightful position and function ".

The position of *suus* may be influenced by the fact that it limits two nouns which belong closely together in thought. Another exception is *fere* : IX 4.5 scriptoribus fere nostris.

Hic and *ille* as separators. A following possessive, when it is separated from the noun by the demonstrative adjectives *hic* and *ille*, is emphatic. These occur as separators each two times. The demonstrative and the possessive together form a phrase which is felt to be in apposition to the noun. It resembles the Greek phrase with the order of words : ὁ φίλος ὁ ἡμέτερος. *Hic* and *ille* are frequently found in this position after a noun, as will appear later when the position of the demonstratives in Gellius is discussed [29]. It is noteworthy that every one of these four passages is from a Greek original [30] :

(1) XII 5.5 si iam *amicus*, inquit, *hic noster* melius valeret, gemitus eiusmodi necessarios a calumnia defendisset ; (2) 1.18 infantem hunc

29. Pp. 73 and 79-80 below.

30. (1) is reported from a conversation of Taurus, Greek philosopher at Athens ; (2) is reported from a discourse in Greek by Favorinus the philosopher, cf. XII 1.24 ; (3) is from Apion Plistonices ; (4) from Herodotus I 24.

nostrum : (3) V 14.21 in habitaculum illud suum : (4) XVI 19.12 casus illius sui.

The last passage is of interest because it is taken from a story told by Herodotus, I 24. Although Gellius throughout this chapter occasionally inserts *inquit* as if he were quoting the historian's own words, nevertheless a comparison of his chapter with the original shows that he is telling his own story in a very free paraphrase from Herodotus and with some rhetorical elaboration. The particular phrase under discussion here is an added idea in Gellius' story.

2. Following Possessive as Separator (14). When a following possessive stands between the noun and another word closely connected with it, the possessive is also without emphasis. In most cases it is needed for the clarity of the thought. Fourteen times in Gellius a following possessive is used as a separator between the noun and another modifier. The passages are here given and classified according to the kind of word that is separated from the noun. In some instances the possessive is not the only separating element that is involved.

a) Adjectives and Participles.

(1) Pronominal Adjectives : X 1.1 familiari meo cuipiam : V 10.15 ne *sententia sua*, utramcumque in partem dicta esset, *ipsa* sese rescinderet.

It is not certain that the last example should be counted as a case of separation. *Ipsa* appears to be used as a demonstrative pronoun which emphatically repeats the subject after an intervening relative clause.

(2) Perfect Participles : III 15.3 coronis suis in caput patris positis : XI 13.5 aures nostrae cadentis apte orationis modis eblanditae ; 16.7 verbis meis inchoatis et inconditis.

(3) Gerundives : Praef. 20 fabulae suae spectandae legem : IV 1.11 honoris tui habendi gratia.

(4) Present Participle : I 22.7 doctrina sua superfluenti.

(5) Predicate Adjective : XIII 24.1 villas suas inexcultas et rudes ne tectorio quidem praelitas fuisse dicit.

(6) Miscellaneous Adjectives : III 16.11 in lectionibus suis antiquis : XX 1.20 leges tu nostras decemvirales, 35 taliones illae tuae reciprocae.

b) Appositives : V 3.1 cuius nomen Plato libro suo illi incluto inscripsit : XIII 25.2 cum in area fori ambularet et amicum suum consulem opperiretur.

It may be questioned whether cases like the last really involve hyper-

baton. The possessive is unemphatic just as in the other passages where it is a genuine separator.

3. Preceding Possessive Separated from Noun (37). When the preceding possessive, which is already emphatic, is then separated from the noun by one or more words, its emphasis, if affected at all, is further augmented [31]. This is shown clearly by the fact that in Gellius, in a large majority of places where a preceding possessive is separated, the separating word is one that by its own meaning places emphasis upon the word which precedes it. Among the commonest here used are *quoque, quidem, quisque, se, uterque, proprius*. The variety of separating elements in the position before the noun is again very small. The passages are grouped according to the kind of separating word.

a) Adverbs. *quoque* : This word is regularly postpositive and stands after an emphasized word : I 22.10 Graecos...sic nostros quoque veteres : II 21.9 nostri quoque veteres : V 20.6 nostri quoque antiquiores : XIII 31.5 tuam quoque impedient intentionem : XIX 1.19 sua quoque adsensione ; 9.7 nostras quoque litteras, 9 nostros quoque antiquiores.

quidem (postpositive) : The three passages in which it occurs are very similar. Contrast is implied in each instance : VI 3.25 ut meum quidem iudicium est : XII 4.3 mea quidem sententia : XX 1.24 mea quidem sententia.

scilicet : XI 16.9 in mea scilicet infacundia.

b) Pronouns. *quisque* : This indefinite pronoun is frequently found enclosed between *suus* and the noun which it precedes. In this position it is itself unemphatic and practically enclitic in force [32]. It is closely connected in thought with the possessive which it follows and adds to the emphasis : II 22.19 quae incolae in suis quisque regionibus fecerunt, 25 suae quisque regionis : VI 14.10 sui cuiusque generis : X 9.3 sui cuiusque vocabuli : XII 5.7 suis quaeque momentis : XIII 21.11 suo quidque in loco : XVIII 5.7 suum quisque grammaticum. Once in a compound : XIV 1.28 suas unumquidque leges.

Exceptions : The regular order of words in this combination is illustrated by the foregoing examples. Single examples of other word-orders occur in Gellius. The two principal elements of the clause are in reverse position in XVIII 13.2 tesserulas in medium *vice sua quisque* iaciebamus. With a further change in the position of the words

31. Weil, p. 56.
32. Lane, 2397; Kühner, 119.6.

quisque is the separator in XVII 9.3 in scripto quidem alia aliae locum et nomen teneret, sed in legendo *locus cuique suus* et potestas restitueretur [33].

The phrase *suus* with a form of *quisque* is found in Latin prose of all periods. It appears to be used more frequently in early Latin. In Gellius *suus* precedes the noun altogether 62 times, nine times with a form of *quisque*. In Varro's *de re rustica* the same phrase occurs six times out of about 25 times that *suus* precedes the noun. In Cato's *de agricultura* it occurs in five of the thirteen places where *suus* precedes [34].

uterque : As a separator this word is similar in use and meaning to *quisque*. It separates *suus* from the noun three times, once in the adverbial form *utrimque* : XIII 21.6 si suo utrumque loco per e litteram dicas : XVIII 1.2 pro suis utrimque decretis, 15 in suam uterque sententiam.

se : The reflexive *se* is like the above two pronouns when it is used as separator. It is used only with *suus* [35] : V 10.16 magister eloquentiae inclutus suo sibi argumento confutatus est : XII 1.*lem.* suo sibi lacte : XVI 19.12 induere...sua sibi omnia indumenta [36] : XVII 16.5 suo se ipse gladio transegit.

Exception : XIX 12.9 homo misere imperitus vites *suas sibi omnis* et oleas detruncat.

The last example shows the same type of phrase with inverted order. The inversion may be due to the fact that the modifying phrase belongs to two nouns which form the extremes of their phrase.

iste : VII 2.2 meum istud interpretamentum.

c) Adjectives : The few adjective separators are all important words in the phrases in which they occur. They seem to belong more closely to the possessive than to the noun.

proprius : This adjective goes closely with the possessive which it follows : XI 15.6 suae propriae significationis : XV 3.8 sua sit propria origine : II 20.7 suo atque proprio nomine.

Exception : Once the possessive is placed last when *proprius* modifies the noun : XVII 6.10 servum recepticium, hoc est *proprium servum*

33. See page 25 above. Variations in the order of words in this type of phrase are also met with in other authors, e.g., Caes. *B. G.* II 10 domum suam quemque reverti ; Livy XXI 48 in civitates quemque suas ; Varro, *r.r.* I 7.3 suo loco quaeque.

34. Yoder, pp. 13, 23.

35. For a discussion of this collocation, see G. Landgraf, *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik*, VIII, pp. 43 ff.

36. With these words Gellius renders τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα from Herod. I 24.4.

suum, " a personal slave of her own ". The noun between the two adjectives is very weak, hardly necessary at all. The paragraph closes three lines below with this combination minus the noun : non enim servo mariti imperare hoc mulierem fas erat, sed *proprio suo*.

multus : XIV 2.7 cum suis multis patronis.

It is not clear from the context that the possessive is emphatic in this place [37].

paupertinus : In the one remaining passage with an adjective separator depreciative contrast is implied with emphasis upon the possessive : XIV 6.5 nostras paupertinas litteras.

d) Verbs. *sum* : The comparatively weak verb *sum* is used twice between possessive and noun, but neither time as the sole separating element. The possessive is emphatic : IV 1.14 non ex nostra magis est philosophia : XV 3.8 sua sit propria origine. *impedio* : XIII 31.5 tuam quoque impedient intentionem.

e) Conjunctions. *namque* : II 22.20 nostri namque Galli. *autem* : II 26.19 nostris autem veteribus. *tamen* : VII 2.8 sua tamen scaevitate et voluntario impetu.

f) Noun. The only example of a noun as separator between possessive and noun is in XIII 21.23 solam aurem secuti sunt suis *verba* modulis pensitantem.

The possessive *suis* is unusual in this place because it does not refer to the subject of the sentence, but to *verba* ; "the ear weighing the words by their respective rhythms ". The noun is placed between possessive and noun to bind it closely to the rest of the phrase [38].

4. Preceding Possessive as Separator (7). Only a small number of passages are found in Gellius where a preceding possessive serves as separator between another modifier and the noun. It is regularly unemphatic in this position and appears in most instances to add to the emphasis of the adjective or demonstrative which it follows. It separates demonstratives : V 14.23 illa tunc mea opera et medella : VI 3.55 de his meis verbis : XI 16.9 huius, inquam, tui erroris : XIII 22.1 hic vester huiuscemodi vestitus.

The remaining examples are : III 7.20 tali suo testimonio : VIII 9.*lem.* omnis suae aetatis : XV 1.4 ulla tua aedificatio.

So far the study of the position of the possessive adjective confirms

37. See page 38.

38. It is also possible to refer *suis* to *aurem*, the ear " weighing the words by its own standards " (Rolfe). Cf. Hor. *Ep.* I 7.98.

for Gellius the rule that the possessive after the noun is without emphasis, unless it is separated by a demonstrative, and that before the noun it is emphatic, except when it happens to stand between another modifier and the noun. There are exceptions to this rule. Some can be explained by noting their occurrence in expressions which are partly conventional and stereotyped. Others are due to the chiastic arrangement of the words in correlated or contrasted phrases. Finally, a few real exceptions remain for which no explanation is at hand. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the different classes of exceptions.

D. Possessives in Certain Special Phrases

Frequent exceptions to the rule for the position of the possessive according to emphasis occur in certain phrases of frequent use.

1. *Noster* is used with proper nouns in a more or less conventional way. The vocative *mi*, as already observed, in Gellius always precedes the noun. *Noster* without apparent reason varies in its position, now standing before the noun and now following it. It is likely that the degree of personal feeling and admiration on the part of the writer or speaker determined its position in particular cases. But of this it is hard to give objective proof. The comparison of parallel passages with varying word-order illustrates the apparent indifference of the position of *noster*. Gellius refers to his teacher of philosophy, Calvisius Taurus, as " my teacher, Taurus ". After giving an outline of the system of instruction used by the Pythagoreans he comes to what Taurus had said on the same subject, with these words : I 9.8 haec eadem super Pythagora *noster Taurus* cum dixisset.

At another place he states the opinions of different philosophers on the subject of Pleasure. Referring to the same teacher he says : IX 5.8 *Taurus* autem *noster*, quotiens facta mentio Epicuri erat, in ore atque in lingua habebat verba haec.

The following passages may also be compared : III 3.6 (After mention of Varro) Favorinus quoque noster; XVII 12.1 et veteres...et noster Favorinus. Gellius does not regularly introduce these two favorite teachers by adjoining the conventional *noster* to their names. This practice is rather the exception. For the first mention of Taurus in a chapter he writes *Taurus philosophus* at least nine times, simply *Taurus* twice, and *Taurus* with *noster* four times. Favorinus he introduces fifteen times by simply *Favorinus*, fifteen times with *philosophus* added, and four times with *noster*.

Noster meaning " Roman " shows the same variation in position : I 15.13 Eupolidis quoque versus...quod *Sallustius noster* imitari volens scribit ; XII 1.20 scite igitur et perite *noster Maro*, quod, cum versus illos Homeri consectaretur...

These passages seem to show that *noster*, when it is used with proper names in polite reference, is felt less as a determinative adjective than as a conventional epithet. As such its position varies freely and evidently depends on other factors than emphasis in contrast or comparison. The remaining occurrences are :

a) Before the noun : III 1.6 noster Probus ; 16.4 noster Caecilius : VII 14.5 noster Taurus.

b) After the noun : I 26.4 Plutarchus noster : V 11.8 Favorinus noster : VII 13.10 Plato, inquit, noster : XI 15.8 Apollinaris noster : XVIII 7.2 Favorinus noster : XIX 6.2 cum Tauro nostro : XX 8.4 Lucilium, inquit, nostrum.

With *amicus* the possessives of the first person are used in the same conventional way. With this noun *meus* varies in its position : V 21.1 quis dixit sermocinans vir adprime doctus, *meus amicus*, " a friend of mine ". Like it is *meus dominus* : V 14.17 cum provinciam, inquit, Africam proconsulari imperio meus dominus obtineret.

Meus follows the noun in XI 17.4 amicus meus : XIV 2.9 amici mei : XIX 11.3 amicus meus.

The plural *noster* with *amicus* in Gellius invariably stands last. These passages have been cited before [39] among the possessives necessary for clearness.

In contrast with the variable position of *noster* with proper names in Gellius is its uniform postposition in Varro's *de re rustica*. Twelve times, one half of which are in the vocative case, in three short books Varro places *noster* after the proper name in polite address or reference. The vocative *mi*, which Gellius invariably puts before the noun, in Varro follows the noun the one time that it occurs (*r.r.* III 2.18). In the *Letters* of Cicero, *noster* with proper nouns follows 72 times and precedes eight times [40].

2. *Noster* (*suus* once) with *memoria* is used ten times in the ablative, genitive, and accusative cases as a time phrase. The position of the possessive in this phrase varies without relation to its emphasis. In none of the ten places where the phrase occurs is there emphasis upon

39. Page 14 above.
40. Albrecht, p. 16.

the possessive. Nevertheless, four times the possessive precedes the noun contrary to the usual rule. Compare the parallel passages : I 22.9 Iulius Paulus dicebat, homo in *nostra memoria* doctissimus ; V 4.1 Iulius Paulus poeta, vir *memoria nostra* doctissimus.

The four passages where the possessive used only for clearness stands before *memoria*, have this in common, that the phrase is introduced by a preposition. They are, besides the one above quoted : XVIII 6.1 in nostra memoria : XX 1.20 in nostra memoria. . . peritissimus : XI 1.5 ad suam memoriam.

The other order of words is also introduced by a preposition once : XVIII 4.1 Apollinaris Sulpicius, vir in *memoria nostra* praeter alios doctus.

The remaining examples with *noster* in the unemphatic position following the noun are these : VII 10.1 vir memoria nostra. . . celebratus : XIII 18.2 hominem memoriae nostrae doctissimum : XVI 10.9 poetam memoriae nostrae doctissimum : XIX 12.1 omnes memoriae nostrae universos.

This phrase has the same variable order of words in other Latin authors. In Sallust's *de Coniuratione Catilinae* the phrase occurs three times and every time with emphasis in contrast. Once *noster* precedes *memoria*; twice the possessive follows. The passages are : Cat. 33.2; 51.32; 53.6 [41]. Caesar has the phrase once and with the order *nostra memoria*. Cicero in the *Orations* places *nostra* first thirteen times and following the noun four times [42].

3. Phrases of the type *maiores nostri*. This type of phrase exhibits some irregularity in the position of the possessive. The words *maiores*, *veteres*, *antiqui*, *antiquiores*, *vetustiores* are constantly recurring in the pages of the *Noctes Atticae*. Gellius and other scholars of his period laid great store by the writings of the "ancients", referring by that term to Cicero and Varro and their predecessors in Latin literature. The expression must have been in continual use and it naturally became commonplace and partly stereotyped. The possessive was often omitted entirely, as in XV 15.1 ab eo, quod est pando, passum *veteres*, dixerunt, non pansum. Even where one would expect to find the possessive added for clearness, *veteres* is used alone : XIII 6.1 quas Graeci προσῳδίας dicunt, eas *veteres* docti tum notas vocum tum. . . appellabant.

Ten times in this phrase the possessive is used for clearness or for

41. Patterson, *Position of the Possessive Pronouns in Sallust.*
42. Rohde, p. 12.

fullness of expression, and every time it follows the noun. The occurrences are as follows : *nostri* : II 3.1 : XII 5.13 ; 13.17 : XIII 9.5 : XVIII 12.*lem.* : XIX 1.13 : XX 1.28, 41 : IX 2.10 maiores autem mei : I 22.7 maiores suos.

Six times, where there is emphasis on the possessive in a contrast, the order of the words is reversed according to the usual rule. In every case but one the emphasis is further strengthened through the separation of the possessive by *quoque* or *autem*. The passages are these : I 22.10 nostros quoque veteres : II 21.9 nostri quoque veteres ; 26.19 nostris autem veteribus : V 20.6 nostri quoque antiquiores : XII 6.1 ex nostris veteribus : XIX 9.9 nostros quoque antiquiores.

The above sixteen examples of this phrase follow very well the general rule for the position of the possessive according to its emphasis. Four examples remain which are certainly emphatic by contrast like the last group above, or they seem best interpreted that way. *Noster* is irregularly placed after the noun in every instance.

I 15.19 huiuscemodi autem loquacitatem verborumque turbam magnitudine inani vastam facetissimus poeta Aristophanes insignibus vocabulis denotavit in his versibus : (then follow *Ranae*, 837-9), neque minus insigniter *veteres* quoque *nostri* hoc genus homines in verba proiectos locutuleios et blaterones et linguaces dixerunt.

The words *veteres quoque nostri* are plainly contrasted with Aristophanes. Since this poet was a Greek and also an " ancient " we would expect to find *nostri* stressed by being put first.

VII 14.4 tertia ratio vindicandi est, quae παράδειγμα a Graecis nominantur, cum poenitio propter exemplum necessaria est.... idcirco *veteres* quoque *nostri* exempla pro maximis gravissimisque poenis dicebant : XIII 11.7 nam quae πέμματα Graeci aut τραγήματα dixerunt, ea *veteres nostri* bellaria appellaverunt : XVIII 9.10 sed etiam ipsum illud ἔπη, quod significat verba aut versus, non aliunde esse dictum tradunt (*sc.* interpretes vocum Graecarum) quam ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕπεσθαι καὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν. eadem ergo ratione *antiqui nostri* narrationes sermonesque insectiones appellitaverunt.

In the last passage, and perhaps in the third also, it is conceivable that the author had in mind more clearly a contrast between the present Roman practice and that of the ancient Romans than between the Greeks and the Romans. But emphasis upon the possessive seems the more natural interpretation in view of the context of each of these passages.

4. The time phrase of the type *aetatis suae* occurs thirteen times in

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Gellius and shows some irregularity in the position of the possessive. In all but one the possessive is used for clearness and is not emphatic. Nine times it follows the noun in keeping with the usual rule : I 5.2 Q. Hortensius omnibus ferme oratoribus *aetatis suae*, nisi M. Tullio, clarior : also in II 20.5 : VII 12.1 : IX 4.13 ; 16.1 : X 3.16 : XIII 24.1 : XV 31.1 : XIX 14.*lem.*

Once the possessive, while preceding the noun, serves as the separator between a strong adjective and the noun. In this position, as usual, it is unemphatic : VIII 9.*lem.* Theophrastus philosophus *omnis suae aetatis* facundissimus.

In two passages the possessive without emphasis precedes the noun for no apparent reason : XIX 8.3 Caesar...vir ingenii praecellentis, sermonis praeter alios *suae aetatis* castissimi : IV 7.1 Valerius Probus grammaticus inter *suam aetatem* praestanti scientia fuit.

Suam placed between the preposition and the noun can be compared with the position of unemphatic *nostra* in the phrase, *in nostra memoria*. The reversed order of this phrase occurs four times with the preposition [43].

In the only passage where this phrase is used in contrast it has, not the reversed order, but *suae* in the unemphatic position. Gellius appears to avoid the collocation *sed suus*. This is one instance : I 10.1 Horatii illi trigemini plane ac dilucide cum suis fabulati sunt neque Auruncorum aut Sicanorum aut Pelasgorum, qui primi coluisse Italiam dicuntur, sed *aetatis suae* verbis locuti sunt.

E. Position of Possessives Affected by Chiasmus

In a number of places where a possessive stands in a position contrary to the usual rule for emphasis, the exception is explained by reference to the rhetorical figure of chiasmus. This rhetorical device used by Latin writers is an artificial arrangement of the words in parallel phrases or clauses which by its symmetry attracts special attention and so is useful for achieving emphasis [44]. In its simple form, chiasmus is illustrated by the diagram, noun : adjective : : adjective : noun. From Gellius XVIII 3.5 *urbem hanc et hanc rem publicam* is a good example. Only a small number of passages have chiasmus involving the possessive. Several types are to be distinguished among these.

43. Page 32 above.

44. For detailed investigations see R. B. Steele, *Chiasmus in Sallust, Caesar, Tacitus and Justinus*, 1901 ; *Chiasmus in the Epistles of Cicero, Seneca, Pliny and Fronto*, Studies in Honor of Gildersleeve. pp. 339-352 ; Menk, pp. 59-62.

1. Two synonymous phrases show implied contrast with something outside of the group. The repetition of the same idea and the chiastic arrangement of the words are both factors which stress the contrast which is implied. The possessives are in every case the words involved in the contrast. Four examples of this type occur; two have the possessives as the means and two have them as the extremes of the chiasmus: XII 11.4 uti se *vi sua* ac *sua sponte* facile a peccando tenerent: XVI 13.6 municipes . . . *legibus suis* et *suo iure* utentes (contrasted with colonies).

In these passages the chiasmus determines the position of the possessive in the first member of the group, since the position after the noun is normally unemphatic. In the next two passages the possessives stand at the extremes and the figure explains the position of the possessive in the second member, a position which is otherwise unemphatic: XIV 1.23 si nihil *sua sponte*, nihil *arbitratu suo* faciunt: II 29.14 frumentum *nosmetipsi manibus nostris* cras metemus.

The last example varies in having the personal pronoun *nosmet* as the first extreme to balance *nostris* at the end.

2. Unlike nouns are the extremes and like possessives the means. In one example the nouns are contrasted but the principal emphasis is still upon the possessive by implied contrast. The chiasmus affects the word order in the first member: XII 1.6 aluisse in utero *sanguine suo* nescio quid, quod non videret, non alere nunc *suo lacte*, quod videat, " To have fostered with her own blood and now not to nourish with her own milk ".

Another example has *suus* before the noun in the second member when no emphasis is entended; it may be due to the chiasmus: XVII 21.17 qui (*sc.* Olus Postumius Tubertus) *filium suum*, quod contra *suum dictum* in hostem pugnaverat, securi necavit.

3. Synonymous nouns are the extremes; the means are unlike and in contrast: V 19.10 fas non est, ut caput liberum *fidei suae* commisum *alieni dicioni* subiciant.

This can be taken also as an illustration of a contrast that is not anticipated, which has been discussed already[45].

4. Means and extremes are both contrasted. Chiasmus is found to be especially useful as a rhetorical device when it is desired to contrast two ideas simultaneously. The free order of words in Latin makes this

45. Page 18 above.

possible. The examples of this type are : IV 1.14 quid penus sit, non ex *nostra* magis est *philosophia* quam ex *grammatica tua*.

More often the possessive is one of the means in such a double contrast. The contrast between the extremes appears to be the stronger one of the two : VI 3.24 quod erat procul dubio *opinionis suae* professio, non *Rodiensium culpae* confessio.

Three ideas are in contrast here. The tautophony *professio*, *confessio* serves to emphasize the contrast between these words. The chiastic order of words stresses the other two contrasts.

XVII 7.5 ad subsidium magis *memoriae suae* quam ad legentium disciplinam.

The chiasmus in the last two phrases is one of the thought. The grammatical chiasmus reaches from *subsidium* to *disciplinam*, from which standpoint *suae* is unemphatic and is used for clearness only.

I 3.24 quod paria genere ipso non sunt *honestas meae famae* et *rei amici utilitas*.

There are really only two ideas in contrast in this clause : " my honor " and " a friend's advantage ". *Famae* and *rei* are added, the second as an appositive to define more closely *amici*, the first probably to balance its phrase with the second and add to the repleteness of the expression.

5. Chiasmus involves a possessive but does not affect its position. For the sake of completeness two more passages are given in which the possessive stands before the noun as its emphasis requires and is at the same time in chiastic arrangement. The chiasmus affects particularly the order of words in the second member. This is the more apparent in the second example where the nouns as the means are synonyms : IV 15.5 quod est arduum, *sui operis* difficultate est arduum, non *opinionis alienae* erroribus : IX 11.8 et *suà virtute* nixus et *opera alitis* propugnatus.

F. Miscellaneous Exceptions in the Position of Possessives

The foregoing pages show that a great majority of the possessives in Gellius conform to the general rule of position as required by the emphasis. Some single exceptions occur in particular types of phrase; others occur in phrases more or less conventional and stereotyped; finally, a few exceptions are due to chiasmus. Aside from these classes of exceptions, which embrace the major portion of them all, there remain still a number of passages where the position of the possessive has only a probable explanation, or none at all.

1. Emphatic Possessive Following the Noun.

a) IX 4.5 (3 erant autem isti omnes libri Graeci miraculorum fabularumque pleni...) atque in legendo carpsi exinde quaedam et notavi mirabilia et *scriptoribus* fere *nostris* intemptata.

The possessive is probably emphatic in contrast despite its position following the noun.

b) X 19.3 qui, ut tu nunc facis, *peccatum suum* peccatis alienis exemptum purgatumque ibat.

The principal emphasis of the sentence is probably felt to be on the repeated noun, *peccatum*, *peccatis*, the thought being, " who excuses sin with sin " rather than " his own sin by the sins of others ". In that case *suum* and *alienum* are for clearness.

c) XIII 20.3 qui bello civili Uticae necem sibi gladio *manu sua* conscivit.

The phrase *manu sua* usually has the other order of words and implies a contrast. Here the phrase is superfluous and its weakness may explain the position of *sua* after the noun. Cf. IV 18.12 suis manibus.

d) and e) XVII 7.6 (*bis*) verbum et < est > esse et erit : quando per sese ponuntur, habent atque retinent *tempus suum*; cum vero praeterito iunguntur, vim *temporis sui* amittunt et in praeteritum contendunt.

The possessive each time seems emphatic in contrast, the first by implication, the second by direct contrast with *praeteritum*. It is possible that the word *tempus*, used here in the technical sense of " tense ", is felt to require the possessive for clearness.

2. Unemphatic Possessive Preceding the Noun.

f) and g) VI 8.6 (*bis*) postea, inquit, idem ille puer δελφινερώμενος morbo adfectus obit *suum diem*. at ille amans...desiderio tabuit exanimatusque est et in litore iacens inventus ab his, qui rem cognoverant, in *sui pueri* sepulcro humatus est.

The story of this chapter is from Apion, the Greek historian. No emphasis on the possessives seems possible in the passage, unless the second one has the meaning, " its own dear boy ", expressing a degree of affection. In the next the possessive is evidently used only for clearness.

h) X 16.2 Palinurus est apud inferos petens ab Aenea, ut *suum corpus* requirendum et sepeliendum curet.

i) XII 13.18 ad quas a *nostris hominibus* adiri potest.

This clause is repeated from a passage quoted just before from *Verr.* III 207, where Cicero seemingly places the possessive first in an argu-

mentative emphasis and by implied contrast. The phrase is like the type *maiores nostri*.

j) XIV 2.7 hominem esse non bonae rei vitaque turpi. . .ostendebatur. is tamen cum *suis multis patronis* clamitabat probari apud me debere pecuniam datam consuetis modis.

This passage may be interpreted with emphasis upon *suis* to mean, " with a crowd of attorneys just like himself ".

k) XVI 14.2 verba sunt ipsius ex oratione, quam de *suis virtutibus* habuit.

The possessive is for clearness. Cf. the parallel phrases with the usual order : XV 12. *lem.* de pudicitia sua : XX 9. *lem.* de innocentia sua.

l) XVII 6.6 quae ex *suis bonis* retinebat neque ad virum tramittebat, ea recipere dicebatur.

m) XVII 7.6 videbatur tamen hoc dicere *suum verbum* et < est > esse et erit, " his statement, however, seemed to mean this and to be (about) *est* and *erit* ".

Both the text and the interpretation are uncertain at this point.

n) XIX 12. *lem.* < dissertatio Herodis Attici super vi et natura doloris *suaeque opinionis* affirmatio. . . >.

As in m), the reflexive refers indirectly to the subject. The chapter titles of Book XIX are wanting in the existing MSS and have been made up by later scholars. This may account both for the word and for its irregular position, since no emphasis seems implied in *suae*.

Summary of Exceptions : Out of the total number of 407 possessive adjectives used in Gellius, 51 probably do not adhere to the rule of position according to emphasis. These exceptions have now all been noted and are here brought together for convenience.

1. Seven exceptions in certain particular phrases : sponte sua X 12.2 : tempore suo X 11.3 : vi quadam sua XIX 1.15 : locus cuique suus XVII 9.3 : vice sua quisque XVIII 13.2 : vites suas sibi omnis et oleas XIX 12.9 : proprium servum suum XVII 6.10.

2. Eight exceptions with *noster* and *meus* used conventionally with proper names or with *amicus*, *dominus* (pp. 30-31).

3. Eleven exceptions in certain phrases which are partially stereotyped, of the types : *in memoria nostra*, *maiores nostri*, *aetatis suae* (pp. 31-48).

4. Eleven exceptions may be explained by the chiastic arrangement of the words (pp. 34-36).

5. Fourteen miscellaneous exceptions remain, for many of which no explanation is at hand.

Emphasis, however, is not the only factor which helps determine the position of the possessive modifier in a Latin phrase. It is possible that in any given instance several factors are at work concurrently or in opposition to one another. Among these possible factors, aside from emphasis, there may be named, (1) a feeling for rhythm, placing weak words between stressed words, even at the expense of normal position. In oratory more especial attention was given to the κῶλα and κόμματα and to rhythmical clausulae than in narrative prose, such as that of Gellius. This author, however, did make a conscious effort, as observed before, to write fluent prose. (2) The subjective feelings or moods of the writer which do not appear to the reader from the context. (3) There is always a possibility that the author may have made a careless error which he did not detect before publication. Akin to this is the further possibility that copyists in later times may have consciously or unconsciously changed the position of the possessive modifiers in certain instances and that this change was made so early in the course of the tradition that it has come into all the existing MSS [46].

46. See Peterson, *Amer. Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 125; W. Rönsch, *Cur et quomodo librarii verborum collocationem in Ciceronis orationibus commutaverint*, Diss. Leipzig, 1914.

III. POSITION OF *IS*

The demonstrative pronoun *is* is used to refer to something spoken of in the context [1]. The same word, used as an adjective, modifies a noun which has been previously mentioned or implied in the context, or is explained by what follows. The possessive adjectives serve as determinatives and unless emphasized they stand after the noun by way of more exact denotation. In the demonstrative phrase it is the noun which is added as the determinative element in the phrase and stands after the demonstrative. It is the noun that is needed for clearness [2]. In Gellius the adjective *is* with twenty exceptions out of 699 occurrences is placed before the noun. This is well in accord with Latin prose usage, although earlier prose shows slightly more exceptions [3].

A. *Is* Immediately Preceding the Noun (575)

Like other Latin writers, Gellius uses the pronoun *is* at the beginning of a sentence as a connective to link the thought with the foregoing :

IV 14.2 Aulus Hostilius Mancinus aedilis curulis fuit. *is* Maniliae meretrici diem ad populum dixit : II 18.1 Phaedon Elidensis ex cohorte illa Socratica fuit Socratique et Platoni per fuit familiaris. *eius* nomini Plato librum illum divinum de immortalitate animae dedit. *is Phaedon* servus fuit.

The second sentence of the last passage is linked to the first by the pronoun *eius*, and since the subject of the second sentence is *Plato*, the third starting with the demonstrative *is*, still linking it with the first, needs the noun appended to it for clearness. Gellius even adds the noun to *is* where there is no need for it on the ground of clearness :

III 13.3 percontatur eius rei causam cognoscitque currere eos auditum Callistratum. *is Callistratus* Athenis orator in republica fuit : VI

1. Lane, 2365; Fischer, p. 68.
2. Köne, p. 45.
3. Fischer, p. 93.

5.1 histrio in terra Graecia fuit... nomen fuisse aiunt Polum, tragoedias poetarum nobilium scite atque asseverate actitavit. *is Polus* unice amatum filium morte amisit.

The noun with *is* may be a synonym of a word or an idea in the context, as in IV 11.4 nullo saepius legumento Pythagoram dicit usum quam fabis, quoniam *is cibus* et subduceret sensim alvum et levigaret.

Is as a demonstrative adjective is used in Gellius immediately before the noun 575 times. The occurrences are here grouped according to their gender, number, and case.

Is : I 4.2 ; 13.10 ; 25.16 : II 13.3 ; 18.3 : III 10.6 ; 13.3 ; 15.3, 4 (*bis*) : IV 3.2 ; 8.2 ; 11.4 : VI 5.1 : IX 3.1 : X 18.3 : XI 18.2, 5 : XIII 20.14 ; 29.2 : XVI 3.9 : XVII 8.4 ; 9.21.

eius (m.)[4] : II 1.3 : III 10.15 : IX 4.6 : X 15.14 : XI 1.3 ; 16.2 : XVI 17.1.

ei (m. dat.) : V 6.8 ; 14.10 : VII 10.2 : IX 13.2 : XV 20.2 : XVIII 6.3 ; 7.2.

eum : I 3.1, 4, 11 ; 25.16 : II 15.2 ; 22.28 ; 23.8 : III 7.8 ; 9.3, 5 ; 10.17 : IV 7.4 ; 18.12 : V 12.12 : VI 5.4 : X 20.6 ; 28.1 : XII 13.1 : XIII 19.2 ; 27.2 ; 31.2, 9 : XIV 7.2, 3 : XV 20.2 ; 22.8 : XVI 8.3 ; 19.4 : XVII 9.9 ; 16.2 ; 21.33 : XVIII 13.4 : XIX 9.3 ; 10.5 : XX 4.3.

eo (m.) : I 8.3 ; 12.11, 13 ; 22.5, 8 ; 25.15 ; 26.7 : II 12.1 : III 1.2 ; 2.3, 9 ; 16.20 ; 17.5 ; 19. 1 : IV 7.2 ; 14.3, 6 ; 18.6 : V 6.9, 14 ; 9.2 ; 13.5 ; 14.24 : VI 1.8 ; 11.6 : VII 1.1 ; 7.5 : IX 4.14 ; 13.5 ; 15.7 : X 15.10, 14 (*bis*) : XII 8.6 : XIII 7.2 ; 14.5 ; 15.4 ; 20.10 ; 22.1 : XIV 6.5 : XV 1.7 ; 3.2 ; 6.3 : XVI 3.6 ; 5.9 ; 7.14 ; 10.1, 3 ; 11.5 ; 17.1 ; 19.17 : XVII 2.1, 27 ; 3.3 ; 12.4 : XVIII 5.11 ; 6.4 ; 7.8 ; 10.4 : XIX 1.15 ; 5.5, 9.

eorum (m.) : XIV 1.22.

iis (m. dat.) : X 24.8.

eos : III 10.14 ; 18.4 : XVI 19.9 : XX 1.43, 47 ; 5.7 ; 8.2.

ea (f. nom.) : I 3.8, 10 ; 6. *lem.* ; 8.2 ; 12.12 ; 18.6 : II 4.1 ; 17.4, 6 (*bis*) ; 23.16 ; 29.5 : III 2.3 ; 17.3 : IV 2.10 ; 5.6 ; 6.1 ; 17.8 : V 5.1 ; 6.9, 17 ; 18.7 : VI 3.2 ; 4.4 ; 14.8 ; 20.2 ; 22. *lem.* : VII 9.1 ; 10.2 ; 17.3 : IX 3.4 ; 11.2 ; 15.7 (*bis*) : X 20.3 : XI

4. This form with *modi*, written in Gellius as one word, *eiusmodi*, and meaning " of this kind " or " such " is used 25 times as an adjective ; *e.g.*, I 3.15 refert scire me in eiusmodi periculis amicorum. The form *eiuscemodi* is used once.

1.2 : XII 2.2 ; 8.2 ; 12.3 : XIV 1.22 ; 2.14 : XV 17.2 ; 22.6 : XVI 18.3 : XVIII 13.6 : XIX 2.2 : XX 1.15.

eius (f.) : I 4.6 ; 22.20 : II 28.2, 4 ; 30.4 : III 13.2 ; 16.6, 12 : IV 6.2 ; 10.6 ; 18.2 : V 14.6 ; 17.4 ; 19.4, 9 : VI 17. *lem.* : IX 9.14 ; 11.10 : X 7.2 ; 10. *lem.* ; 27.3 ; XI 3. *lem.* ; 8. *lem.*, 3 ; 13.2, 5 : XIV 3.1 : XV 7.3 ; 26. *lem.*, 2 : XVI 2. *lem.* ; 3.9 ; 5.9 : XVII 8.2 : XVIII 2.5 : XIX 9.7 ; 10.12 : XX 1.3.

ei (f.) : I 2.1 : VI 18.1.

eam : praef. 5 : I 19.8, 9 ; 23.5 : II 12.1 ; 16.3 ; 17.4, 9 : III 2.3, 9 ; 7.13 ; 8.2, 8 ; 16.5 ; 18.4 ; 19.4 : IV 5. *lem.*, 2, 4 ; 6.6, 8 ; 8.5 ; 15.1, 5 : VI 3.20 ; 18.11 ; 19.2 : VII 5.5 ; 8.6 : IX 2.11 ; 12.7 : X 4.3 ; 17.2 ; 28.2 : XI 4.3 ; 16.6 ; 18.12 : XII 3.1 ; 7.5 ; 13.20 : XIII 22.2 ; 30.1 : XIV 1.21 ; 5.2 ; 7.3 : XV 3.2 ; 4.3 : XVI 2.1, 13 ; 3.7 ; 11.6 ; 19.23 : XVII 6.10 ; 8.10 ; 11.4, 5 ; 21.9, 36 : XX 1.13.

ea (f. abl.) : I 3. *lem.*, 23, 25 ; 6.1, 5 ; 7.8 ; 11. *lem.*, 19 ; 13. *lem.* ; 18.2 : II 2. *lem.*, 8 ; 4.1 ; 7. *lem.*, 2 ; 28.5 : III 1.8 ; 2. *lem.* ; 3.4, 6 ; 7.7 ; 8.7 ; 9.7 ; 15.4 ; 16.3 ; 17.6 : IV 1.13 ; 2. *lem.* ; 4.1 ; 9. *lem.* ; 18.8 : V 6.13 ; 14.15 ; 17.5 ; 18. *lem.*, 2 (*bis*) ; 19. *lem.*, 16 ; 21.11, 13 : VI 3.4, 11, 36, 44 ; 11. *lem.* : VII 2.6, 9 : VIII 6. *lem.* : IX 8. *lem.* : X 3.3 ; 17 *lem.* ; 19. *lem.* : XI 1. *lem.*, 1 ; 15.2, 8 ; 17.4 : XII 10.1 ; 11. *lem.*, 4 ; 13.5 : XIII 12.5 ; 18.1 ; 20.10 ; 21.22 ; 22.7 ; 23.12 ; 30.1 : XIV 1.16 ; 2.21 ; 7.3 ; 8.1, 2 : XV 4.3 ; 6. *lem.*, 2 ; 10.1 ; 13.3 ; 20.10 : XVI 2.12 ; 3. *lem.* ; 6. *lem.* ; 10.6 : XVII 1.8 ; 2.16, 21 ; 6.5 ; 11.4 ; 15.6 ; 16.2 ; 21.38 : XIX 4.4 ; 8.16 ; 12.3 : XX 1.31 ; 4. *lem.* ; 5.7 ; 6.10 ; 8.3 ; 10.7, 9.

eae : II 12.4.

earum : X 9. *lem.*, 3 ; 12.7 : XIII 9.6 : XIV 1.13 ; 2.11 : XVII 8.16 : XX 1.4.

eas : II 28.3 : VI 3.47 ; 12.2 : X 18.6 : XI 16.1 : XIII 9.6 : XVII 6.7 ; 9.17 ; 12.1 ; 21.15 : XX 1.4.

iis (f. abl.) : II 19.4.

id (nom.) : I 4.7 ; 9.2 ; 13.3 : II 4.2 ; 6.5 : III 18.9 : IV 1.6 ; 2.11 ; 9.2 ; 12.2 ; 17.10 : VI 1.8 ; 19.2 : VII 7.2 : X 1.10 : XI 5.7 ; 7.3 ; 15.8 : XIII 11.7 ; 14.2 ; 31.14 : XV 22.10 : XVI 8.14 ; 12.2 : XVII 9.13 : XIX 2.2 ; 10.7.

eius (n.) : praef. 16 : I 13.11 : II 14. *lem.* : III 9.7 ; 14. *lem.* ; 19. *lem.* : IV 3. *lem.* : V 2.5 ; 12.12 : VI 1.6, 11 ; 17.1 ; 19, 5, 7 : VII

16. *lem.* : XI 1. *lem.* : XIII 22.7 : XIV 3.4 : XV 20.7 : XVI 5. *lem.*; 10. *lem.*; 13. *lem.*

ei (n.) : I 4.8 : III 14.5.

id (acc.) : I 12.6 : II 12.5 ; 20. *lem.* ; 24.3 : IV 4.3 ; 5.2 : V 3.5 ; 7.1 : VI 3.2 : VII 7.7 ; 10.4 (*bis*) ; 13.10 : X 12.5 ; 17.2 ; 18.5 : XI 6.5 ; 15.2 : XII 8.2 ; 11.4 : XIII 6.2, 4 ; 26.2 : XIV 1.4 : XV 10.2 ; 11.2, 5 ; 30.7 : XVI 4. *lem.*; 5.11 ; 9.2 ; 10.3 : XVII 5.3 ; 9.11 : XVIII 2.16 : XIX 8.4.

eo (n.) : I 3.7 ; 4.2 ; 7.5 ; 9.6 ; 22.3, 12 ; 25.9 : II 6.7 ; 10. *lem.*, 3, 4 ; 12.1 ; 21. *lem.* ; 23.17 : III 4.2 ; 7.18 ; 16.12 : IV 18.7 ; 20.9, 12 : VI 5.5 : VII 4.1 ; 13.8 : IX 6.3 ; 11.4 : X 11. *lem.* ; 18. *lem.*, 6 : XI 1.4 : XII 3.4 ; 5.1 : XIII 6.2 ; 17. *lem.*, 2 ; 23.17, 19 : XIV 2.11 ; 3.4 ; 7.8 : XV 1.6 ; 4.3 ; 5.2 : XVI 11.8 : XVII 3.5 ; 9.10, 13 ; 21.28, 31, 45 : XVIII 6.8 : XIX 9.7 : XX 1.50.

ea (n. nom.) : I 3.9 ; 12.14 : VIII 12. *lem.* : X 24.3 : XI 5.6 ; 13.3 : XIII 29.2 : XIV 7.7 : XV 12.2 : XVIII 11. *lem.*

eorum (n.) : II 2.9 : V 12.3 : X 21.2 : XIII 18.2.

ea (acc.) : I 3.13 : XI 18.18 : XVII 2.11 ; 20.2 ; 21.14.

This list includes all the passages where *is* stands immediately before the noun in attributive use. Besides this use, *is* before the noun is used a few times as the subject of the verb *esse*, the noun which follows it being the predicate. As will appear later, *is* under such circumstances is more often separated from the noun by intervening words. When used as the subject of *esse* and juxtaposed to the noun, *is* sometimes looks back to what has been mentioned before ; at other times it looks forward to an explanatory clause, as in the two following passages respectively :

XIII 8.1 sapientia... quod *eam filiam* esse usus et memoriae dixit ; VI 7.10 in istis vocibus, quas non acui diximus, *ea causa* est, quod syllaba insequitur natura longior.

Other passages with the same use are : VII 14.3 *ea causa* animadvertendi est : XI 7.3 est adeo *id vitium* plerumque serae eruditionis : XIX 8.4 non esse *id vitium* demonstres : XX 8.7 *eam causam* esse dicunt sacerdotes Aegyptii cur...

Not infrequently a relative or other clause follows upon the demonstrative phrase which has the regular order of words, *is* + noun [5].

5. Four passages are noted later (p. 48) which have *is* after the noun, possibly from the influence of a relative clause which follows the phrase.

When such a clause follows, the demonstrative is felt to be much weakened. Its force in many instances is that of the definite article in English. Such a weakening of *is* to the function of the definite article is common and begins early in the history of the word[6]. Gellius does not always use *is* with a noun antecedent of a relative or other clause. For example: IV 7.3 versum unum ponit *ex libro*, qui Scipio inscribitur, " from the book which is entitled *Scipio* ".

Compare also the following parallel passages :

XVI 11.5 aquam omnem *in locis*, in quibus colebant, exaruisse : II 23.8 accesserat dehinc lectio *ad eum locum*, in quo maritus senex... querebatur, "to the passage where the aged husband was complaining".

Seventy out of the 575 passages listed above haye a relative or other clause following the demonstrative phrase. In the example last cited above the demonstrative looks forward to the relative clause for its definition. It may also refer to something mentioned before, in which case the clause is added for further elucidation or is purely parenthetical, as in XIX 10.4 unus ex amicis Frontonis : et praeterpropter, inquit, alia quinquaginta. tum Fronto dilatis sermonibus, quos habere de balnearum sumptu institerat, aspiciens ad *eum amicum*, qui dixerat.

Very rarely *is* looks forward to a causal clause : III 19.4 parcum ob *eam causam* dictum, quod pecuniam consumi atque inpendi arceat.

Purpose clauses positive and negative may also be used after *is* : VII 4.1 *eo consilio*, ut viveret quidem tantisper : XX 1.50 *eo consilio*... ne ad eam umquam perveniretur.

A demonstrative clause is also limited or defined by a noun in the genitive case : XIX 4.4 *eaque vi* frigoris.

B. *Is* Preceding the Noun and Separated (98)

This demonstrative in its usual position before the noun is separated from it by one or more words 98 times. The general effect of the separation of *is* seems to be to bring the demonstrative into clearer relief for emphasis. This is noticeable when a contrast or comparison is implied in the demonstrative. Certain classes of words when used as separators serve to stress *is* more than others. As before, in some of these examples *is* is used predicatively. A fair proportion have a definitive clause following. The passages are here classified according to the kind of separating word.

6. Meader, *The Latin Pronouns*, p. 198.

1. Adverbs (22) : A wide variety is used. Many adverbs as separators bring the demonstrative into fuller relief.

quoque : XV 13.2 sunt autem verba haec omnia ex altera parte inusitata et, an dicta sint in eam quoque partem, quaeri solet. Also in V 6.3 : XI 18.9 : XIII 1.4; 23.14 : XIV 2.17 : XV 4.3 : XX 1.34.

maxime : XVII 10.8 in his autem, inquit, quae videntur retractari et corrigi debuisse is maxime locus est, qui de monte Aetna factus est.

potissimum : X 10.2 visum esse eum potissimum digitum tali honore decorandum.

tantum : I 25.18 eo tantum nomine. *praecipue* : XIII 10.1 eaque praecipue scientia. *modo* : XIV 1.8 sub ea modo inclinatione. *statim* : I 12.9 eo statim tempore. *fere* : XI 2.1 id fere verbum ; XVII 21.20 ea fere tempestate. *ferme* : IV 1.20 eius ferme rei. *contra* : V 12.8 eum contra deum. *plerumque* : XVI 3.9 in eo plerumque tempore. *ibi* : I 11.4 ea ibi praecentione. *nunc* : XVII 21.1 easque nunc excerptiones nostras. *porro* : VII 17.2 eos porro libros universos.

2. Conjunctions (10) : Of the four conjunctions which are used as separators, *autem* is always postpositive. The other three are sometimes postpositive. This consideration together with the fact that *is* often comes first in a sentence as a linking word makes it likely that the separation in these passages is not due solely to emphasis upon the demonstrative :

autem : V 10.3 id autem vitium. Also in XIII 31.14 : XVII 15.4. *tamen* : I 3.30 eius tamen Chilonis. Also in V 3.7 : XII 13.5. *igitur* : XV 1.6 in eo igitur libro. Also in XVII 6.9. *namque* : X 3.17 in eo namque libro. Also in XIII 8.2.

3. Pronouns (17) : A pronoun frequently stands as the separating word when *is* precedes the noun. The intensive *ipse* used as a separator adds emphasis to the demonstrative :

I 22.8 in libro quoque de republica secundo id ipsum verbum Cicero ponit. Also in II 24.6 : VI 3.16; 14.7 : XII 13.11 : XVII 5.3 ; 21.25 : XVIII 4.4.

Personal pronouns are used as separators without effect upon the emphasis :

I. 13.1 exque utilitate eius, qui id tibi negotium mandavit : II 8.7 id ei negotium fuit : III 2.3 is ei dies natalis sit ; 17.2 id ei pretium : VII 14.3 id ei vocabulum : XII 4.2 eos ego versus : XIII 7.6 ea nos dissensio ; 21.1 ea tibi verba : XVII 21.1 id nobis negotium.

4. Nouns (11) : The genitive case of a noun which limits the

demonstrative phrase separates *is* from the noun with scarcely any change of emphasis :

I 23.2 ea Catonis verba : II 26.5 eam vocum inopiam : XIII 12.5 in ea Capitonis epistula ; 13.5 in ea libri parte ; 21.10 ea iudicii subtilitate : XIV 1.31 ea siderum vis : XV 7.2 eum aetatis annum : 18.3 ea Cornelii sacerdotis hariolatio ; 22.9 eaque hominum barbarorum crudelitas : XVI 3.4 ea ventris conpressione : XX 1.48 eam capitis poenam.

5. Adjectives (7) : A few adjectives are found in this position. None of them appears to increase the emphasis on *is*. A few like *omnis* and *totus* are more prominent and so more emphatic in the phrase than *is* itself : V 14.9 sed praeter alia omnia leonum, inquit, immanitas admirationi fuit praeterque omnis ceteros unus. is unus leo : XI 16.6 earumque omnium rerum : XIII 7.1 eoque uno partu ; 8.2 eaque omnia acta : XVII 17.2 earumque omnium gentium : XIX 10.3 ad id totum opus : XX 5.6 earum omnium rerum.

6. Verbs (5) : The verbs which stand in the position of separator after *is* are usually weak in emphasis. They are :

inquit : III 13.2 is, inquit, Demosthenes domo egressus. *dignor* : XV 20.10 Macedones eo dignati sunt honore. *esse* : XIII 20.2 tum quaeri coeptum est, quisnam is fuisset M. Cato Nepos.

Passages like the last one show that Gellius makes no clear distinction between the predicate use and the attributive use of this demonstrative adjective, so far as its position is concerned. Examples of the predicative use are noted elsewhere, with preceding *is* juxtaposed to the noun, and with following *is* separated [7]. In the following passages *is* appears to be on the border line between the two uses :

XIV 2.5 sed *eum* constabat virum esse firme bonum notaeque et expertae fidei ; II 10.1 *id* erat verbum favisae Capitolinae, " This term was *f. C.* " or " This was the term *f. C.* "

In many other instances where a verb, particularly a form of *esse*, separates *is* from the noun, it is predicative. The complete list of these is not included in the study.

7. Prepositions (2) : The phrase *eo in loco* occurs in XVII 11.6 : XX 6.1.

8. Relative clauses (6) : Besides single words, two or more words may separate *is* from the noun. Short explanatory relative clauses are so used :

7. Page 43 above and p. 50 below.

I 3.21 in eo, quo dixi, libro : II 22.27 in eo, quo dixi, tempore : VII 14.9 ei quam dicebat rei : IX 9.1 in eum, in quem dicta sunt, modum : XII 13.26 ex ea, qua dixi, oratione : XIX 1.21 in eo, quo dixi, libro.

9. Miscellaneous combinations of two or more words which separate *is* and the noun are the following (18) :

Praef. 23 ea omnia subsiciva et subsecundaria tempora : I 25.10 id fuit Varroni negotium : III 16.12 idque ipsum eius rei decretum : IV 17.15 id ipsum autem verbum : V 11.6 ab eo se defendit incommodo ; 18.1 earum tamen proprie rerum : XI 7.6 eaque sibi duo verba : XII 5.13 ea vera et proba fortitudost : XIII 4.3 ea mulieris scitae atque prudentis erga ferocem filium comitas ; 5.11 is erat e Lesbo Theophrastus : XIV 1.2 id praestigiarum atque offuciarum genus ; 5.4 eaque inter eos contentio : XV 20.2 id ei puero fatum : XVII 2.11 id quoque esse soloecon ; 8.2 id enim est tempus : XVIII 12.1 id quoque habitum est in oratione facienda elegantiae genus : XIX 1.21 in eo tamen brevi motu ; 4.5 is autem, inquit, sanguis.

The predicative use of *is* separated before the noun has already been mentioned. Among the 98 passages cited above, a relative or other explanatory clause follows 26 times. As before, *is* under such circumstances may look either back or forward, as in the following passages respectively :

I 3.21 Theophrastus autem in *eo*, quo dixi, *libro* inquisitius... disserit ; V 12.8 cum Iovem igitur et Diovem a iuvando nominassent, *eum* contra *deum*, qui non iuvandi potestatem, sed vim nocendi haberet... Vediovem appellaverunt.

C. *Is* Immediately Following the Noun (15)

As against the 575 places where *is* stands immediately before the noun, there are fifteen passages in which the order in reversed and *is* comes next after the noun. Some of these deserve special comment. They can be placed in several groups.

1. *vocis eius* : a) V 7. *lem.* personae... quamque esse vocis eius originem dixerit Gavius Bassus. b) V 8. *lem.* quid sit lituus ; deque ἐτυμολογίᾳ vocis eius. c) X 11. *lem.* mature... quaeque vocis eius ratio sit.

These three occurrences involve the same phrase and they are all found in the lemmata or titles of chapters. No reason is apparent for the variation in the order of words, unless it be to avoid hiatus.

The other and more usual order occurs in VI 17. *lem.* obnoxius ; deque eius vocis origine[8].

2. With a relative clause : a) II 13.3 is Asellio... ad Numantiam fuit *resque eas*, quibus gerendis ipse interfuit, conscripsit. b) X 2.2 ancillam Caesaris Augusti in agro Laurente peperisse quinque pueros dicunt... scriptum esse numerum *puerperii eius*, de quo diximus. c) XVI 10.8 studium scientiamque ego praestare debeo iuris et legum *vocumque earum*, quibus utimur. d) XVIII 7.2 requiro, an *veterum eorum*, qui electius locuti sunt, pro verbis et oratione dixerit quis contionem.

In b), c), and d), it is possible that the noun is especially emphasized by being put first. In c), *earum* might be taken for the pronoun with the antecedent *legum*. In b), one MS gives *dė qua*, making it possible that *eius*, referring to *ancillām*, is its pronoun antecedent. Since a relative clause frequently follows where *is* precedes the noun, it does not seem that the reverse order of words can be due to the relative clause. Nevertheless, a relative clause is used with 26 °/₀ of the following demonstratives and with only 12 °/₀ of those preceding, owing to the larger number of those that precede.

3. Passages involving textual difficulties : a) III 3.10 quoniam *fabulae* <*eae*> Plauti inscriptae forent. b) IV 6.3 quod succidaneas hostias senatus appellavit, quaeri solet, quid *verbum id* significet. c) VI 3.34 post deinde usum esse Catonem dicit in eadem oratione argumentis parum honestis et nimis audacibus ac non *viri eius*, qui alioqui fuit, sed vafris ac fallaciosis. d) X 24.8 nam sane quam consuetum is veteribus fuerit *litteris is* plerumque uti indifferenter.

In every one of these four passages, the demonstrative is involved in a question regarding the constitution of the text. In a), *eae* is inserted by Hertz as an emendation. From the context it seems more natural to have it present than absent. If it did fall out of the text originally by homoeoteleuton, it can be restored with about as much probability before *fabulae* as after it. In b), there is very weak manuscript evidence for *hoc* in the place of *id*. The order *verbum hoc* would be quite natural, as will come out later when the position of *hic* is taken up[9]. In c), the text is very uncertain. The MSS vary in their readings for the relative clause and various emendations of the phrase

8. Cf. also : *eiusque verbi* II 14. lem. : VII 16. *lem.*; *esse eius vocabuli* occurs in III 19. *lem.* and elsewhere.

9. Page 68.

have been offered, none of which is entirely satisfactory. In d), two MSS read *his* for *is*. The former would not be unusual in this position.

4. Miscellaneous exceptions : a) III 2.1 quaeri solitum est, qui noctis hora tertia quartave sive qua alia nati sunt, uter dies natalis haberi appellarique debeat, isne, quem *nox ea* consecuta est, an qui dies noctem consecutus est.

Special emphasis by contrast on *nox* may be intended here by its juxtaposition to *quem*, which refers to *dies*. In Sec. 3, a little farther on in the chapter, the other order occurs : a quo die *ea nox* coeperit.

b) XIV 1.33 ista tamen omnia, quae aut temere aut astute vera dicunt, prae ceteris, inquit, quae mentiuntur, *pars ea* non sit millesima.

In this sentence *ea* may be felt as subject pronoun. The position before the noun is more frequent when *is* is the subject of *esse*. There is also emphasis on the noun *pars*. The next passage is very similar to the last :

c) XVII 2.11 Graece quoque θεῖναι εἰς μέσον, *vitium id* non est.

d) XVII 10.8 in his autem, inquit, quae videntur retractari et corrigi debuisse, is maxime locus est, qui de monte Aetna factus est. nam cum Pindari, veteris poetae, carmen, quod de natura atque flagrantia *montis eius* compositum est, aemulari vellet.

It should be noted that of the fifteen times that *is* follows immediately upon its noun, six of them involve the genitive singular *eius* and two involve the genitives plural *eorum*, *earum*. This seems significant. It is possible that a writer or copyist would be more likely to make an unconscious error in misplacing the genitive forms of *is* than the other cases, because of the fact that the genitive of this demonstrative is used as a possessive of the third person pronoun, and as such it varies in its position like a true possessive, following the noun when unemphatic and preceding it when it is emphatic [10]. The simple error of misplacing the word seems easier under such circumstances.

D. *Is* Following the Noun and Separated (5)

Following the noun, this demonstrative adjective is separated five times. In three of these it is probably used as the subject with a form of the verb *esse* :

10. See Appendix A.

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a) III 3.7 Fretum—*nomen* est *id* comoediae, quam Plauti esse quidam non putant.

b) XI 1.6 cum autem usus et *mos* sermonum *is* sit, ut ita et nunc loquamur, ut plerique veterum locuti sunt.

c) XII 5.13 *fortitudo* autem non *east*, quae contra naturam monstri vicem nititur.

As is stated before, the other order of words occurs even more often than this one when *is*, separated from the noun, is used predicatively. The order depends on the relative emphasis upon the demonstrative and the noun. In c), the word *fortitudo* begins a paragraph and is emphatically placed first to introduce the topic under discussion. A few lines farther on, *ea* stands in contrast with another idea and is naturally placed first : sed *ea* vera et proba *fortitudost*.

In the two remaining passages, *is* repeats, unnecessarily it may seem, the subject after an intervening relative clause :

d) XIII 31.3 nosti, inquam, magister, verbum illud scilicet a Graecia vetus *musicam*, quae sit abscondita, *eam* esse nulli rei :

e) XIII 5.5 *vinum* ait, quod tum biberet, non esse *id* ex valitudine sua.

E. *Is* Used as Separating Word (6)

Out of the total of 699 times that this demonstrative is used as an adjective, it stands as a separator between the noun and another modifier only six times. In this position it is unemphatic. In some cases it can be adequately rendered by the definite article. The word before it is emphasized in contrast or otherwise :

II 6.25 *totum id verbum* ita contaminatum est : III 2.4 *omne id medium tempus* unum diem esse dicere ; 2.5 *totum id spatium* unius diei nomine appellare : VI 1.11 die tertio, in quem vadari iusserat, oppidum captum est, *eodemque eo die* in arce eius oppidi ius dixit : XI 16.6 quid vellet *Graecum id verbum* : XIV 3.4 retractandi *levandique eius operis* gratia.

IV. POSITION OF *IDEM*

This, the adjective of identity, in Gellius resembles *is* in its position with reference to the noun. In all but a few cases (328 out of 339) it precedes the noun, either immediately or separated from it by one or more words. The very meaning of *idem*, the assertion of identity, implies a contrast with that which is unlike or different. It singles out. Naturally one expects to find it first in its phrase. The adjective *idem* appears to be used more freely by Gellius than by most Latin prose writers and with fewer exceptions to its normal position before the noun [1].

A. *Idem* Immediately Before the Noun (235)

Idem stands in its commonest position, immediately before the noun which it modifies, 235 times. Several different uses can be distinguished when it occurs in this position. Occasionally it is used like the demonstrative adjective *is*, as in XII 7. 2 ad Cn. Dolabellam proconsulari imperio provinciam Asiam obtinentem deducta mulier Smyrnaea est. *eadem mulier* virum et filium... interfecerat.

Most commonly *idem* is used in appending a further statement about some one already mentioned in the context. The use of *idem* in successive phrases amounts almost to a mannerism in the style of Gellius :

I 15.10 (*ter*) *idem Cato in eadem oratione eidem M. Caelio* tribuno plebi vilitatem obprobans non loquendi tantum, verum etiam tacendi; II 9.1 (*ter*) *in eodem libro idem Plutarchus eundem Epicurum* reprehendit.

Very often *idem* in this position is used with an implied predicate force. It merely asserts the fact that two or more persons have something in common, as in XVIII 2.2 (*ter*) conveniebamus autem *ad eandem cenam* conplusculi, qui Romani in Graeciam veneramus quique *easdem auditiones eosdemque doctores* colebamus.

The writer in this sentence has indirectly implied that " the dinner

1. Fischer, p. 100.

party we attended was the same one" and "the lectures and teachers we had at Athens were the same ones". The same use is illustrated in XX 1.34 (*ter*) sed potius *eundem animum eundemque impetum in eadem parte* corporis rumpenda.

When *idem* has this meaning the identity may be emphasized further by the addition of the numeral *unus* : XIII 25.9 *una eademque res* pluribus verbis vehementer atque atrociter dicitur.

Between the two extremes, *idem* used as a simple *is* and referring directly to something mentioned before, and *idem* used with predicate force in assertions of identity, there is a variety of uses which need not here be classified in detail. Sometimes *idem* has the implied predicate force which was last illustrated and refers at the same time to what was said before. After telling how upon a certain occasion he (Chilo) had in the interest of a personal friend persuaded his fellow-jurors to vote against what he knew was right, he expresses his compunction of conscience in these words : I 3.7 (*bis*) hanc capio ex eo facto molestiam, quod metuo, ne a perfidia et culpa non abhorreat in *eadem re eodemque tempore* inque communi negotio, quod mihi optimum factu duxerim, diversum eius aliis suasisse.

The predicate function seems to predominate in the two phrases with *idem*, as is shown by the variant *communi* in the third parallel phrase. The passages which have been cited thus far as examples of the use of *idem* when it stands immediately before the noun serve to illustrate all the uses of the word which are met with in Gellius. The remainder of its occurrences immediately before the noun, classified by gender, number, and case, are here given by reference only :

idem (m. sing.) : I 18. *lem.* : II 6.13; 9. *lem.* ; 23.20 ; 25.10 : III 2.4 : IV 11.6 : V 18.9; 20. *lem.* : VI 7.12 ; 9.4, 7, 12 : VII 1.7 ; 4. *lem.* ; 9.5 : IX 1.8; 4.16 ; 14. *lem.*, 15 : X 12.7 : XI 1.5 ; 9.2 : XII 1.13 : XIII 12.3 ; 16.1 ; 20.3 ; 21.6, 14 : XIV 1.35 ; 6.3 : XV 5.8 ; 9.5 ; 25.2 : XVII 4.6 : XVIII 7.8 : XX 11.4.

eiusdem (m.)[2] : I 7.9, 16 ; 18.4; 20.5 ; 22.13 : II 1. *lem.* ; 2.1 : VIII 15. *lem.* : XIII 16. *lem.* ; 21.12 ; 25.9 : XIV 1.21 : XV 1.1 : XVI 4.2 ; 17.1.

eundem : I 5.2 : III 2.6 ; 9.3, 4 : IV 11. *lem.* : VI 11.5 ; VII 4.2 : XIII 25.18 : XIV 1.18 : XV 4.4 : XVI 3.4 : XVII 9.14.

2. The form *eiusdemmodi*, meaning "of the same kind", or "such", is used four times with a substantive in Gellius as an adjective, *e.g.*, VI 11.4 haec aliaque *eiusdemmodi* cum in eum dicturus esset.

eodem (m.) : I 18. *lem.*; 23. *lem.* : II 13.5; 19.8; 25.9 : III 2.4, 10; 3.10; 15.3; 16.24 : IV 9.2; 10.8; 11. *lem.*; 16.6 : V 18.9 : VII 1.7; 4. *lem.* : IX 4.16; 6.3 : X 16.11; 24.8; 26.10 : XI 2.5, 6 : XIII 13.5; 16.1; 20.3, 6; 25.10; 26.4 : XIV 1.15, 18, 26, 27; 5.4 : XV 7.3; 10.2; 13.8; 27.5 : XVI 3.9; 4.5 : XVII 19.5; 21.43, 45 : XVIII 12.9 : XIX 14.7 : XX 11.4.

isdem (m. abl.) : V 2.5 : IX 4.7, 8 : XII 2.4; 14.4 : XV 25.2.

eadem (f. nom.) : II 19.1 : III 9.7 : IV 1. *lem.* : VII 12.4 : XII 13.8.

eiusdem (f.) : Praef. 19 : IV 20.7 : V 20.1 : IX 2.11; 10.1 : XI 15.7 : XIII 25.9, 16 : XIV 3.9 : XV 1.1 : XVI 1. *lem.* : XVII 5.3; 9.7 : XVIII 4.6; 9.7 : XX 1.16.

eandem : II 2.11; 17.6; 22.15 : IV 17.2 : V 14.19 : XI 1.2; 11.4 : XII 1.14; 5.15; 8.2 : XIII 25.11 : XIV 1.26 : XVI 14.1 : XVII 11.3 : XIX 8.12; 9.2.

eadem (f. abl.) : I 6.7; 7.14 : II 6.13; 10.3; 22.18 : III 16. *lem.* : V 14.24 : VI 3.26, 34 : VII 4.4; 10.4 : VIII 15. *lem.* : IX 4.6; 6.3; 12.11 : X 20.5 : XI 11.3 : XII 1.8; 5.10; 13.8 : XIII 25.15 : XIV 7.6 : XV 3.3; 7. *lem.*; 9.8; 13.7; 14.5 : XVII 1. *lem.*; 2.9; 10. *lem.*

earundem : II 21.1 : XIV 1.19.

easdem XX 8.6.

isdem (f. abl.) : VIII 4. *lem.* : XIII 31.2 : XV 13.11 : XVII 12.3.

eiusdem (n.) : II 4. *lem.* : III 16.4 : X 12.3 : XVIII 13.2.

eodem (n.) : I 19.5 : III 1.7; 9.4; 16.4, 14 : V 6.13 : VII 16.5 : X 12.5 : XII 7.2 : XIII 15.6; 25.12 : XIV 1.27; 6.4; 7.4 : XVI 8.14 : XVII 21.39, 45 : XIX 11.2.

eadem (n. nom.) : XIX 1.16.

eadem (acc.) : XIX 1.19.

isdem (n. abl.) : III 4.3 : XV 27.3 : XVII 21.7, 48.

Included in this list are nine passages in which a relative clause follows the demonstrative phrase. In these *idem* is weakened in force and suggests the demonstrative adjective *is*, which in like circumstances frequently has the force of the definite article[3]. Although weakened in this way, *idem* still retains some notion of identity. When *idem* refers to what has been mentioned before, the relative clause seems superfluous, as in III 9.4 eodem tempore Cornelium Dolabellam in Syriam proficiscentem fama istius equi adductum Argos

3. Meader, *The Latin Pronouns*, pp. 196, 207.

devertisse cupidineque habendi eius exarsisse emisseque eum sestertiis centum milibus; sed ipsum quoque Dolabellam in Syria bello civili obsessum atque interfectum esse; mox *eundem equum*, qui Dolabellae fuerat, C. Cassium, qui Dolabellam obsederat, abduxisse.

More often *idem* depends upon the relative clause for its definition. The remaining examples are:

II 22.18 eadem ratione, qua secundi quattuor intersiti sunt : XII 1.8 eadem vecordia, qua... nituntur : XIV 1.18 ad eundem locum... omnes <reverti, unde> profectae sunt; 7.6 qui eadem potestate, qua ii... maiorve essent : XV 10.2 cum eodem laqueo, quo essent praevinctae; 27.3 isdem comitiis, quae calata appellari diximus : XVII 2.9 ex eademque figura est, qua lignantur; 5.3 eiusdem quaestionis, cuius esset ea ipsa res.

B. *Idem* Separated from the Noun (87)

This demonstrative adjective in Gellius is separated from the noun which it modifies, 87 times. In all of these, excepting one, *idem* precedes. The usual effect of such hyperbaton seems to be an added emphasis upon the demonstrative[4]. The separating elements include a considerable variety of words. Not counting the enclitic *-que*, the great majority of these examples have separators of only one word. In twelve instances the intervening element consists of two or more words. The passages with separation of *idem* are here arranged according to the kind of separating element.

1. Adverbs (12). Most of these words have the effect of setting off *idem* with special emphasis:

quoque : XX 1.34 eundem animum eumdemque impetum in eadem parte corporis rumpenda, non eundem quoque casum exigi.

ferme : X 15.26 eaedem ferme caerimoniae. Also in XIII 8.4 : XVII 21.36. *fere* : XV 23.1 isdem fere temporibus. Also in XVII 21.3. *quidem* : XI 3.3 eiusdem quidem fontis. *item* : IV 11.3 ex eadem item opinione. *scilicet* : XII 10.5 eadem scilicet figura. *ergo* : XVIII 9.11 eadem ergo ratione. *nunc* : X 1.8 in eodem nunc theatro. *semper* : II 22.6 in eundem semper locum.

2. Conjunctions (4). Of the conjunctions which are used as separators some are postpositive and normally stand after the first word of the sentence or clause. Four examples occur :

4. Marouzeau, p. 185.

autem : IV 6.7 eadem autem ratione. *tamen* : IV 9.7 idem tamen M. Tullius. *et* : V 14.24 eodemque et victu (but the text is questionable). *igitur* : XIV 1.9 eaedem igitur stellae.

3. Nouns (12). With the single exception of the one case of the separation of *idem* after its substantive, the nouns used as separators are in the genitive case and limit the demonstrative phrase which they separate. The emphasis of the parts is not affected. The phrases are as follows :

Praef. 3. eadem rerum disparilitas : II 30.1 ex eadem caeli regione : VI 10. *lem.* eadem vocabuli forma : IX 4.6 apud eandem caeli plagam ; 14.3 in eodem Claudi libro : XIV 1.21 eadem stellarum facie, 26 (*bis*) eadem vitae sorte ; eodem temporis puncto ; 3.10 ad eandem virtutis calcem : XV 27.4 in eodem Laeli Felicis libro : XVII 5.6 eademque rationis imagine.

The single case of *idem* after its noun and disjoined from it is : XIV 1.20 quotiens *generis* auctores *eiusdem* homines nascerentur.

4. Demonstrative and other pronominal adjectives (21). A wide variety of pronominal adjectives is used to separate *idem* from the noun. In all excepting two instances the separating demonstrative is an integral part of the phrase. This is the weaker form of hyperbaton and does not emphasize the separated word so strongly as an extraneous separator does. The demonstrative separators are comparatively weak themselves and they add emphasis to *idem*. The following occur :

ille : I 19.7 eodem illo pretio. Also in VI 8.6 : IX 4.10 : XII 7.2 : XIV 1.15, 26 : XVII 19.5 ; 20.8 : XVIII 3.6. *ipse* : IV 6.4 super eodem ipso verbo. Also in XI 13.5 : XII 2.13 ; XIII 21.24 : XV 18. *lem.* : XVII 1.11. *iste* : II 15. *lem.* idem isti honores. Also in XV 3. *lem.* *is* : VI 1.11 eodemque eo die. *hic* : IX 15.9 eandem hanc controversiam. *idem* : VII 8.3 eandemque eiusdem sororem. *uterque* : XVIII 4.5 eiusdem utraque vitii.

5. Adjectives and participles (2). Only one instance of each occurs between *idem* and the noun. The passage with *omnia* as separator is an illustration of an unusual interlocking of words. It seems to be *idem* and its noun which are used as separators : XIII 25.12 hisce verbis eandem *omnibus* rem significantibus usus est.

In the other passage *idem* is emphasized in a contrast : IV 9.4 illa quoque vocabula ab eadem *profecta* origine diversum significare videntur.

6. Verbs (7). A form of the copulative verb *esse* occurs oftenest

and in most cases *idem* is used as predicate, either directly or indirectly :

esse : III 2.10 eandem esse observationem. Also in III 16.20 : X 5.3 : XIII 19.4 : XIX 1.10. *habet* : IX 12.17 eandem habet formam. *inquit* : XVII 5.6 eodem, inquit, simulacro.

7. Prepositions (17). Only *in* occurs as a separator between *idem* and the noun. Gellius seldom has the order of words : *in* + *idem* + noun. The order is generally either : *idem* + *in* + noun, or *in* + *idem* + other separator + noun. Following are the phrases in which the preposition separates *idem* :

V 21.17 eodem in loco. Also XII 2.10; 8.4 : XIII 21.10 : XIV 1.15 : XX 5.5. II 20.3 eodem in libro. Also in XVII 4.6. II 21.1 eadem in navi. Also in XIV 1.27. XIV 1.9 eodem in tempore. Also in 2.19. II 21.3 eodem in numero. II 1.2 eundem in locum. IV 1.23 isdem in locis. XIV 2.19 eadem in causa. II 1.2 isdem in vestigiis.

8. Two or more words in the separating element (12).

a) A short relative clause separates *idem* from the noun in II 22.21 eodem, quo ipsi sunt, nomine, 23 eodem, quo ventum, vocabulo : XIV 1.31 isdem, quibus homines, legibus.

b) Various combinations occur of the different elements which have already been mentioned above. A demonstrative adjective is most frequently one of the parts of such a combination : I 7.16 idem autem ille amicus noster : II 23.12 idem enim ille maritus senex : V 16.5 eiusdemque illius Enniani Neoptolemi : XIV 5.4 eandemque illam, quam definierat, regulam : XX 6.7 eodem haec omnia casu.

In the remaining four examples there is a definite contrast expressed with an increased emphasis upon *idem* : XI 3.3 nam varietatem istam eiusdem quidem fontis et capitis, non *eiusdem* tamen esse *finis* putabam : XV 1.1 istae declamationes eiusdem hominis eiusdemque facundiae, non *eiusdem* tamen cotidie *felicitatis* : XIII 29.2 eandemque credis futuram fuisse multitudinis demonstrationem : XVI 7.13 eodem quidem, quo vulgus, sed probe Latineque usus est Graeco vocabulo.

C. *Idem* Immediately After the Noun (10)

Idem is found in Gellius placed immediately after its noun ten times[5]. It is not possible from a study of these exceptions to see any general principle which determines the placing of *idem* after the noun. Marouzeau cites examples to show that when *idem* exceptionally follows the noun the latter is contrasted with another noun[6]. But the examples in Gellius do not substantiate this rule. The ten passages are here quoted with enough of the context in each instance to make clear the meaning. The first one is used as predicate :

a) XIII 23.5 ex quo nominandi quoque *casum eundem* fieri necessum est.

b) III 11.3 uter (*sc.* Homerus an Hesiodus) prior sit natus, parum constare dicit, sed non esse dubium, quin *aliquo tempore eodem* vixerint.

c) XVII 21.18 Hippocrates medicus et philosophus Democritus, quibus Socrates Atheniensis natu quidem posterior fuit, sed *quibusdam temporibus isdem* vixerunt.

The last two examples are similar and present an unusual combination as well as an unusual order of words. The meaning is : " but there was some one and the same time at which they were all alive ".

d) XIII 25.20 ne illa quidem *significationis eiusdem* repetitio ignava et frigida videri debet.

e) V 3.4 is de proximo rure Abdera in oppidum, cuius popularis fuit, caudices ligni plurimos funiculo brevi circumdatos portabat. tum forte Democritus, *civitatis eiusdem* civis.

f) X 21.2 M. Cato et Sallustius et alii quoque *aetatis eiusdem*.

g) XVIII 3.1 Aeschines... nobile et inlustre consilium Lacedaemoniis dedisse dicit virum indidem *civitatis eiusdem* principem virtute atque aetate magna praeditum.

The last four passages are alike in having the feminine genitive singular of *idem* after the noun. The single instance of the separation of *idem* after the noun (XIV 1.20 generis... eiusdem) involves the same form. Of the fifteen cases of the postposition of *is*, eight are genitive forms[7]. It is remarkable that of the exceptions to the regular position of both *is* and *idem* fully one half are of the genitive case. In d), e), and g), euphony doubtless figures in determining the position

5. Once *idem* following the noun is separated (XIV 1.20); page 55 above.
6. Marouzeau, *loc. cit.*; Fischer (p. 101) in his investigations finds strong emphasis and euphony to be the two important factors in the transposition of *idem*.
7. Page 49 above.

of *eiusdem*. By the transposition the writer avoids *quidem eiusdem*, *civitatis civis* and *indidem eiusdem* respectively. In the next exception hiatus is produced between the noun and *eadem* and elision with *denuo* is avoided:

h) III 1.11 tum Favorinus legi denuo *verba eadem* Sallustii iubet.

i) V 3.5 Democritus... interrogavit, quis id lignum ita composuisset, et, cum ille a se compositum dixisset, desideravit, uti solveret ac denuo in *modum eundem* collocaret.

The last is in the same chapter as e) above. Perhaps euphony plays a part in determining the order of the words in both phrases. *Eundem* may be emphatic here. The questioner was interested in seeing the wood tied up in a manner that is the *same*. The order *in eundem modum* also occurs (IV 11. *lem.*).

j) XV 9.5 recto quoque fronte idem Cato *in libro eodem* dicit.

The chiastic arrangement with the words of the preceding phrase may determine the order, *in libro eodem*. Such a succession of phrases, however, occurs repeatedly without chiasmus. Cf. I 15.10 idem Cato in eadem oratione; III 2.4 idem Varro in eodem libro.

D. *Idem* as Separator (7)

This demonstrative adjective is used as a separator between a noun and another modifier in seven places in Gellius. Five times it is *hic* which is separated by *idem*. It happens that all five instances are in the ablative case singular. A comparison of the passages suggests that the combination of these two demonstrative adjectives is largely due o the striving for a stylistic fullness of expression. *Hic* can almost every time be rendered into English by the definite article. The order *idem* + *hic* + noun occurs once and the passage has been cited[8]. This combination appears to have the same force as when *idem* is the separator. The five examples are:

I 3.31 super hoc eodem Chilone : X 26.9 in hac eadem voce : XVI 11.3 hac eadem vi : XVII 1.10 sub hac eadem significatione : XVIII 6.6 hoc eodem vocabulo.

The other two places where *idem* serves as a separator are : XIII 25.19 duplexque *eadem* conpellatio admonitionem facit instantiorem : XII 13.8 item quod erat in, accedente *eadem* syllaba intra factum est.

In both these passages *idem* is unemphatic and has the usual force of words that are used as separators.

8. Page 55 above.

V. POSITION OF *HIC*

The foregoing chapters have shown that *is* and *idem* in Gellius are very regular in being placed before the noun, either immediately or separated from it. The true demonstratives *hic*, *iste*, *ille*, are much more irregular in their position. Thus, of 711 times that *hic* is used as an adjective, those that stand after the noun, instead of being the rare exception, include about one-fourth of the whole number. *Hic*, like some other demonstratives, is of deictic origin. It was first used as a pronoun and was probably spoken with an accompanying gesture of the hand. It commonly points out what is near to the speaker in place, time, or thought[1]. Accordingly, when used as an adjective *hic* is the primal element in its phrase. The noun may be said to be added as the determining element and logically stands second in the phrase[2].

As a pronoun *hic* occurs less often in Gellius than *is*, when referring to what has been mentioned before. An example is: I 8.5 Lais Corinthia... grandem pecuniam demerebat... poscebat autem illa nimium quantum... ad *hanc* ille Demosthenes clanculum adit.

As an adjective *hic* has several different uses. *Is* regularly looks back to what has been said before, excepting when it looks forward to a relative clause for its definition. In Gellius *hic* also looks back in a majority of cases. But it is often used to call attention to what is to be said next.

A. *Hic* Immediately Before the Noun (269)

This demonstrative adjective stands immediately before the noun which it modifies, 269 times. In this position *hic* has no particular emphasis except such as is inherent in the meaning of the word itself.

1. Lane, 2347; Fischer, p. 10.
2. Köne, p. 45.

It may look back to what has been said before, or forward to what is to be said next, or it may look in both directions at the same time or, lastly, it may be used absolutely.

1. In about one-half of the examples (140) with the order *hic* + noun, *hic* clearly refers to something which has been mentioned before :

II 16.3 (after a quotation from the *Aeneid* in which Silvius is mentioned) nam si *hic Silvius* post mortem <Aeneae> natus est : IX 16.3 is libros reliquit, quos studiosorum inscripsit... in *his libris*.

2. In somewhat fewer instances (105), *hic* just before the noun refers to what follows, as in these passages :

XVI 6.3 in quo libro *hic versus* est : centum lanigeras mactabat rite bidentis : X 20.2 quid lex esset, *hisce verbis* definivit : (quotation follows).

3. Nine times *hic* before the noun appears to look both backward and forward at the same time. It refers back to something before mentioned and also forward, in most instances to a relative clause : XIII 25.28 itaque *haec inscriptio*, quam videtis : ex manubiis.

The inscription spoken of was mentioned in sections 1 and 2 of the chapter and had occasioned the intervening discussion of several pages. Because of the remoteness of its last mention the relative clause is felt to be necessary for clearness.

4. About fifteen times *hic* in this position is used in an absolute sense with meanings such as "the present", or "my".

I 24.1 trium poetarum inlustrium epigrammata... nobilitatis eorum gratia et venustatis scribenda in *his commentariis* esse duxi, "that they should be included in my commentaries" : XX 1.6 a quo tempore ad *hunc diem*, "to the present time".

The above examples illustrate the several uses of *hic* when it immediately precedes the noun[3]. In only one instance the noun with *hic* appears to be the predicate with *esse* : II 16.5 itaque *hanc sententiam* esse verborum istorum Caesellius opinatus.

As stated before, *hic* in this position has no special emphasis and it serves to point out or identify something. It looks back more often than forward. An examination of particular cases and particular

3. Gellius also uses *hic* to indicate the case-forms of nouns, *e.g.*, XIII 21.1 interrogatus est Probus Valerius,... hasne urbis an has urbes et hanc turrim an hanc turrem dici oportet. Cf. Meader, *The Latin Pronouns*, p. 199.

phrases reveals the fact that in four cases the general ratio is reversed, as is shown in the table :

	looking back	looking forward
hoc, m. sg. abl.	4	19 (in hoc versu 12)
hos	1	4 (hos versus)
his, m. pl. abl.	6	28 (his(ce) versibus 26)
his, n. pl. abl.	13	26 (his(ce) verbis 25)

The occurrences of *hic* immediately before the noun, besides those already cited as illustrations of the different uses, are as follows :

hic : II 22.2 : V 14.19 : XII 10.7 : XIII 20.11 ; 21.14.

huius (m.)[4] : I 20.6 : V 13.3 : XIII 23.17 : XVII 14.3 ; 16.6 : XIX 10.13.

huic (m.) : VI 7.4.

hunc : praef. 22 : I 4.8 ; 23.3 : III 9.8 : IV 8.7 : VI 1.4 : XI 16.6 : XIII 20.5 : XVIII 7.4.

hoc (m.) : I 22.16 : III 7.7 ; 12.3 ; 14.15, 16 : IV 4.1 : V 2.3 ; 10.3 ; 13.6 : VI 7.11 : VII 6.5 : IX 13.20 ; 14.5 : X 10. *lem.* ; 29.2 : XIII 21.13 ; 23.11, 18 ; 31.12 : XV 26.2 : XVI 14.2 : XVII 6.7 ; 9.16 ; 21.2 : XVIII 5.5 : XX 6.12.

horum (m.) : VI 2.10 : XVIII 2.7.

his (m. dat.) : IX 4.5.

hos : VI 7.3 : VII 8.5 : XI 4.3 : XIII 31.3 : XIX 10.12 : XX 10.4.

his (m. abl.) : praef. 13 : I 15.19 ; 22.20 ; 24.1 : II 2.10 ; 6.1 : III 14.11 : IV 6.4 ; 16.6 ; 17.14 : V 8.1 ; 15.9 : VI 7.4 ; 17.9, 10, 13 ; 20.6 : VII 2.14 : X 11.6 ; 16.14 ; 24.10 : XI 8.3 : XII 4.3 : XIII 7.6 ; 21.21 ; 23.4 ; 31.3 : XV 20.7 ; 24 ; 25.2 ; 26.1 : XVI 19.20 : XVII 21.45 : XVIII 5.10 ; 9.3 ; 10.3 : XX 6.9 ; 10.6.

haec (f.) : II 7.6 : VI 10.1 : XII 7.8 : XIII 25.9 : XVII 20.7.

huius (f.) : II 16.6 ; 19.3 ; 23.4 ; 24.8 : V 9.4 ; 21.14 : X 10.2 : XI 13.5 : XIII 14.5 : XVI 8.16 : XVIII 2.16 : XIX 8.12.

huic (f.) : V 21.7 : VII 2.4 : XX 5.4.

hanc : I 17.4 : II 12.1, 2 ; 28.3 : III 3.6 ; 16.19 ; 19. *lem.* : IV 14.2 (*bis*) : V 6.10 ; 17.1 : VI 3.44 ; 7.6 ; 22.3 : VII 1.11 :

4. *Huius* is used with *modi* as an adjective four times in Gellius, meaning " of this sort ". *Huiuscemodi* is so used 66 times, *e.g.*, I 7.8 in Graeca oratione sine ulla vitii suspicione omnibus numeris generibusque sine discrimine tribuuntur *huiuscemodi* verba.

IX 8.3; 11.8; 13.20 : XI 8.3 : XII 9.6 : XIII 4.2; 20.15 : XVI 17.2; XVII 15.4 : XVIII 3.5 : XIX 1.15 : XX 5.9.

hac : I 3.10; 18.6 : IV 6.6; 11.2 : V 6.15 : VI 3.51; 12.4 : VII 13.8; 15.6 : X 13.4; 22.3 : XIII 15.3; 21.9 : XIV 1.30 : XVII 5.1; 12.3; 13.4 : XIX 2.5.

harum : I 25.18 : XVIII 4.11 (*bis*).

has : II 24.12.

his : (f. abl.) : praef. 13 : II 17.3 : III 3.1 : XIII 9.4 : XV 22.10; 31.3 : XVI 16. *lem.* : XVII 9.2 (*bis*), 23; 21.1.

hoc : (nom.) : II 20.9 : IX 5.3 : X 25.4 : XII 12.4 : XV 25.1 : XIX 10.6, 10; 13.5.

huius (n.) : I 15.8 : V 21.6 : IX 12.19 : XVI 6.8 : XVII 2.21.

huic (n.) : XVI 5.4.

hoc (acc.) : praef. 19 : I 15.20; 21.5 : II 21.9 : III 7.9; 16.19; 18.10 : IV 4.3 : V 21.17 : VI 19.6 : X 24.8 : XII 6.1 : XIII 29.6 : XVII 9.15 : XVIII 7.5 : XX 1.36; 3.3.

hoc (n. abl.) : III 8.7 : VI 11.4 : VII 12.4; 16.8 : XIII 11.7 : XVII 2.8; 21.18 : XVIII 9.5; 13.4.

haec (n. nom.) : I 17.5 : III 1.2 : XVII 20.4 : XX 10.2.

horum (n.) : VI 11.3 : XIV 5.4.

his (n. dat.) : V 8.1.

haec (acc). : IV 11.3 : XIV 4.5 : XVII 2.2.

his (n. abl.) : I 3.27; 7. *lem.*, 11 : II 6.12; 24.10; 27.3 : III 14. *lem.*, 20; 16.2 : IV 1.3, 17; 2.3; 17.7 : V 20.2 : VI 3.39; 9.1; 11.7 : VII 2.15; 14.8 : IX 6.3 : X 12.6 : XII 9.4; 13.1 : XIII 16.2; 24.1; 25.12 : XV 13.11; 20.9; 31.4 : XVI 2.5; 4.1; 8.4; 12. *lem.* : XVII 5.1; 7.2; 13.7; 19.4.

B. *Hic* Preceding the Noun and Separated (222)

This demonstrative adjective is placed before the noun and separated from it 222 times, somewhat fewer than the number of times it precedes immediately. As in the other position, so here *hic* is found looking back, looking forward, looking both ways, or used absolutely. The following passages will illustrate these several types of usage :

(1) *Hic* refers to what has gone before (138) : II 23.19 timet, irascitur, suspicatur, miseretur, dolet. *hi* omnes *motus* eius affectionesque animi.

(2) *Hic* refers to what follows (56) : XII 2.11 *haec* tamen inepti et insubidi hominis *ioca* non praeteribo (quotation follows).

(3) *Hic* refers both back and forward (16) in II 21.11 ex *his* duabus *rationibus*, quas ille dixit.

(4) *Hic* is used in an absolute sense (12) : III 7.9 ego *hanc* tibi et reipublicae *animam* do, " I give this life of mine for you and for the republic ".

These passages illustrate the same four types of usage which were illustrated before for *hic* when it precedes the noun immediately. The ratios of the types to each other are also about the same as before. Unseparated *hic* was used only once as the subject of *esse*. The same demonstrative when separated appears to be used predicatively about twenty times. The following passage where *hic* looks forward will illustrate : VII 1.8 existimat autem non fuisse *hoc* principale naturae *consilium*, " But he does not think that this was Nature's principal design ".

The passages which have *hic* preceding and separated from the noun are here classified according to the separating element. These elements show a very considerable variety ; a wider variety than that found with *is* and *idem*. Single word separators are by far the commonest. Of 222 examples of separation before the noun, 35 times (16 %) the separator consists of two words and 22 times (10 %) of three or more words, the highest number being six words. One effect of disjoining *hic* from the noun which follows is to bring the demonstrative into clearer relief for the purpose of emphasis, as in II 6.21 quam rem et alii et *hic* quidem *poeta* locis aliquot demonstrat : XV 2.4 non... ebrietatem istam turpissimam... sed *hanc* largiorem paulo iucundioremque vini *invitationem*.

1. Adverbs (48). The variety of adverbs used between *hic* and the following noun is large. As observed before, separation by means of these words usually places the demonstrative in strong relief with an added emphasis :

certe : I 3.3 in hoc certe tempore. *deinde* : VII 2.11 huius deinde rei. Also in XII 13.8 : XIX 8.9. *etiam* : XII 13.28 in his etiam regionibus. *fere* : XVIII 13.5 ad hoc fere exemplum. *ferme* : I 3.22 ad hunc ferme modum. Also in 3.28 : II 23.14 : III 7.2 : VII 2.1 : IX 1.7 ; 3.5 : X 1.7 : XII 13.6 : XIII 28.3 : XIV 1.2 ; 4.2 XVII 10.1 : XVIII 10.8. *omnino* : X 21. *lem.* his omnino verbis. *prius* : XII 5.7 harum prius rerum. *prorsus* : I 23.2 huic prorsus commentario. *quidem* : II 6.21 hic quidem poeta. Also in IV 18.6 : X 3.6. *quoque* : I 26.11 huius quoque motus. Also used in praef. 3, 24 : IV 3.3 ; 17.9 : V 14.28 : IX 16.5 : XI 15.3 : XII 12.1 : XIII 26.5 :

XV 5.1 : XVIII 2.10. *saltem* : II 24.15 his saltem finibus. *sane* : XIV 1.8 haec sane disciplina. *scilicet* : I 9.6 ab his scilicet artibus. *tantummodo* : XIV 1.14 has tantummodo stellas. *tum* : XIII 21.9 his tum verbis. *tunc* : XIX 1.11 his tunc verbis. *undiquevorsum* : VI 16.6 has undiquevorsum indagines. *utrimque* : VII 8.4 hanc utrimque declamatiunculam. *vero* : XVII 13.10 hanc vero particulam. *vulgo* : I 7.18 his vulgo adnotamentis.

2. Conjunctions (24). *autem* (postpositive) : I 3.8 et hic autem Chilo. Also in I 3.12 : II 4.5 : VI 2.7 : X 2.1 : XII 9.6 : XIII 21.18 : XIV 2.22 : XV 6.4 : XX 1.41. *enim* (postpositive) : XIII 20.12 hic enim nepos. Also in II 3.4 ; 9.5 ; 16.4 : III 2.15 : V 15.2 : XIII 11.6; 17.1 : XIV 3.4 : XIX 1.19. *tamen* : II 4.6 in hoc tamen genere. Also in II 26.7 : XIII 21.22 ; 25.17.

3. Pronouns and Pronominal Adjectives (23). The variety of pronouns and pronominal adjectives used as separators between *hic* and the noun is small. The separation does not as a rule affect the emphasis of *hic*, except in the case of *ipse* and *idem*. Most of these separators are also modifiers of the noun either in direct agreement or limiting it in the genitive case. The personal pronoun is the sole exception :

a) *Is* : This demonstrative as separator is in every instance except one in the genitive case. It occurs in I 17.2 has eius intemperies. Also in II 29.2 : IV 16.3 : VI 9.11 : XV 9.7 : XVI 19.21 : XVIII 5.7.

The accusative case of *is* occurs once in this position : XVII 19.3 inter clamandum his *eum* verbis increpabat.

b) *Idem* : The separating word here seems more emphatic than *hic* itself, which has the force of the definite article : I 3.31 super hoc oedem Chilone, " about the same C. " Also in X 26.9: XVI 11.3 : XVII 1.10 : XVIII 6.6.

c) *Ipse* : The intensive demonstrative adjective, when it is used as separator, is felt to belong very closely with *hic* and serves to stress the idea contained in this demonstrative. The examples are : I 3.21 super hac ipsa re, " about this very matter " : XIII 3.4; 20.16 : XVII 1.11 : XX 1.31.

d) Personal pronouns : Only *ego* occurs as separator between *hic* and the noun. The combination has the earmarks of mere rhetorical verbiage. It may add something to the emphasis of the demonstrative. The Latin is fond of juxtaposing pronouns : VII 8.6 his ego versibus credo. Also in XIII 12.7 : XV 9.2 : XX 5.13 ; 10.5.

4. Nouns (19). Nouns used in the position of separator between *hic*

and the noun, are of the genitive case only and they limit the demonstrative phrase. No special emphasis attaches to *hic* when it is separated by a genitive noun, over the same when juxtaposed. It should be noted that the genitive in such a phrase is also placed after the noun, as in XVII 20.7 haec admonitio Tauri : III 19. *lem.* hanc traditionem eius. Nouns as separators occur as follows :

I 9.7 his scientiae studiis : II 29.20 hunc Aesopi apologum : III 7.8 haec salutis via : IV 9.9 hanc Sabini interpretationem : VI 2.9 ad hance Ennii sententiam; 19.8 contra hanc decretorum memoriam : VII 6.2 in his Vergilii versibus, 12 hos Homeri versus : IX 9. *lem.* his Homeri versibus, 16 hunc Homeri versum; 10.1 hos Vergilii versus: X 6.3 ob haec mulieris verba; 29.4 in his Vergili versibus : XIII 20.16 hanc temporum differentiam; 25.12 hoc ornatus genus : XVI 6.15 haec Hygini opinio : XVII 9.4 hanc scribendi latebram : XVIII 10.5 hanc loquendi imperitiam : XIX 8.10 ab hoc Caesaris libro.

5. Adjectives and Participles (22). In all the instances save one where an adjective or a participle stands as separator between *hic* and the noun it is an integral part of the phrase, that is, it modifies the noun like the demonstrative. Under such a condition the demonstrative is no more emphatic than when it stands immediately before the noun. In fact, contrary to what might be expected, the separating word is frequently the most emphatic word in the phrase, especially *omnis* or an adjective in the superlative degree or a numeral :

omnis : II 23.19 hi omnes motus eius affectionesque animi. Also in XI 3.3 : XIII 15.5 : XIV 7.13 : XVIII 7.8.

This adjective is separator once where it does not belong to the phrase : XII 13.6 occupavit iam haec omnes opinio.

Miscellaneous adjectives : II 6.9 hic antiquissimus versus : III 16.14 per hoc vetus proverbium : IV 3.3 hac antiquissima lege : VI 3.55 de his meis verbis : XII 5.8 his primis sensibus : XIX 2.3 his ferinis voluptatibus.

Participle : The separating participle is here a part of the compound tense of the verb : VI 3.31 ad pugnandum pugnae haec *proposita* sors est.

Numerals : II 19.3 in hoc uno verbo; 21.10 hae septem stellae, 11 ex his duabus rationibus ; 22.13 hae duae regiones, 16 ex his octo ventis : IV 18.2 haec duo exempla : V 12.9 per has duas litteras : XV 3.7 haec duo verba. Also XVII 19.6.

6. Verbs (12). Only a small variety of verbs as separators after *hic* is found :

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esse : A form of the copulative verb is used naturally to separate *hic* from a predicate noun. There is no special emphasis on the demonstrative in such circumstances. The occurrences are these[5] : II 16.8 hanc esse causam dixit. Also in V 14.30 (*bis*) : XII 5.7 : XIII 20.4.

inquit : This word is enclitic and does not in any instance serve to emphasize the demonstrative : I 3.30 hac, inquit, fini ames, tamquam... Also in II 8.4 ; 21.10 : XI 7.3.

Miscellaneous verbs. Where other verbs than the above stand as separators there is often a special emphasis laid upon the demonstrative. The intervening verb seems to be dragged in for the specific purpose of separating *hic* from the noun. The passages are : II 17.4 quam Cicero hanc *habere* vim significat : VI 17.3 quin potius, inquit, haec *mittis* nugalia : XI 5.4 his *uti* verbis debeat.

7. Prepositions (13). The only preposition which in Gellius is placed between *hic* and the noun is *in*. This position is not the usual rule excepting in the particular phrase *hoc in loco*, which occurs twelve times with this order of words and only once with the order *in hoc loco* (XIII 31.12). The preposition may be placed in the midst of the phrase to avoid an unpleasant tautophony ; *hoc in loco* is more euphonious than *in hoc loco*. *Hoc in loco* occurs in II 23.13 : IV 11.10 : VII 16.3 : IX 1.9 ; 12.8 ; 14.8 : X 13.1 : XIII 11.7 ; 21.18 ; 25.32 : XVIII 1.6 : XX 6.9.

The one other occurrence of *in* between this demonstrative and the noun is in XVIII 5.7 his in versibus. But this is a single exception for this phrase ; *in his versibus* occurs twenty-five times.

8. Relative clauses (4). A short relative clause separates *hic* and the noun with an added emphasis upon the former. The examples are : I 25.16 ex his, quibus dixi, vocibus : III 3.15 in his, quas supra dixi, fabulis : X 23.2 in his, quibus dixi, libris : XIII 20.9 hic, de quo quaeritur, M. Cato.

9. Two or more words as the separating element (57). The passages where *hic* is disjoined from the following noun by a single word include about three fourths of the total number of such separations. The remainder have separating elements consisting of from two to six words. These are various combinations of the different elements already given as separators :

a) Two words as separators (35). More than one-half of the separa-

5. *Hic* is also juxtaposed once : II 16.5 hanc sententiam esse ; see page 60 above.

tors of more than one word are of two words. In general the more distant separation gives added stress to *hic*. Other things being equal, the longer the thought is held in suspense between the uttering of the modifier and the word modified the greater is the interest aroused and the emphasis secured. But this need not be true in every particular instance. Prepositional phrases limit the phrase in which they stand, precisely like nouns of the genitive case : I 3.20 his ad eum verbis. Also in II 23.20 : III 16.20 : XV 20.8 : XVII 4.5.

Two words in the genitive case may be the separator, a noun and its modifier or its appositive : III 7.20 hanc Q. Caedici tribuni virtutem : XIV 1.25 in hac totius mundi contemplatione.

One of the two words may belong organically to the phrase and the other be a foreign element : I 2.6 has ille inanes glorias : II 26.5 has singulas rufi varietates, 8 haec sunt sola vocabula. Also in II 28.1 : III 3.2 : VI 14.4; 18.10 : VII 1.8 ; 14.5 : XI 16.9 : XIII 20.12 ; 22.1 ; 25.4 : XVI 9.1 : XVII 21.1 : XX 1.37 ; 6.11.

Both words may be foreign to the demonstrative phrase, as in I 3.28 has tamen inquit parvitates ; 22.12 hoc enim in loco. Also in II 24.4 : XI 16.8 : XII 1.13 ; 5.5 : XIII 20.3, 8 : XVII 10.8 ; 20.5, XVIII 5.4.

b) Separating elements of more than two words (22). These are for the most part combinations of the separating words which have been noted above :

I 11.18 ab hac tam intrepida ac tam decora incedendi modulatione : II 16.8 hoc quoque eius quasi erratum; 23.21 ad horum autem sinceritatem veritatemque verborum; 29.17 haec quidem est Aesopi fabula : III 3.4 hos solos ex ea fabula versus ; 7.9 hanc tibi et reipublicae animam; 16.7 huius de mense octavo dissensionis ; 18.3 haec etiam vocabuli istius ratio : IV 17.2 in hac quoque primi verbi praepositione : V 10.11 huic tuae tam ancipiti captioni : VI 1.7 has volgi de Scipione opiniones ; 16.6 hanc autem peragrantis gulae et in sucos inquirentis industriam : X 3.10 haec medius fidius sola verba; 8.1 haec quoque antiquitus militaris animadversio : XII 2.11 haec tamen inepti et insubidi hominis ioca : XV 2.4 hanc largiorem paulo iucundioremque vini invitationem : XVI 8.15 hoc iam breve ex dialectica libamentum : XVII 1.9 haec quidem, quam dicunt, verbi huiusce sententia : XVIII 5.3 hoc enim se ille nomine : XIX 5.4 huius saltem, inquit, sapientissimi viri ; 7.12 his nos inter viam verborum Laevianorum adnotatiunculis ; 8.16 haec quidem Fronto requirere nos iussit vocabula.

C. *Hic* Immediately Following the Noun (132)

This demonstrative in Gellius stands immediately after the noun 132 times. In a considerable percentage of these occurrences, *hic* is used as predicate (*circ.* 25 °/₀). In this position, just as in the two positions studied before, *hic* may look back to what has been said (31), or forward to what follows (87), or may appear to look in both directions (4), or lastly may be used in an absolute sense (10). These figures include both the predicative and the attributive uses. For convenience these may be divided into two groups, *viz.*, the neuters plural, *haec* (nom.), *haec* (acc.), *his* (abl.) ; and all the other cases of *hic* found in this position. This is convenient because the neuters plural include more than one half (71) of the whole number of occurrences, and further because the ratio of those looking back to those looking forward is widely different in the two groups (3 to 67 in the n. plur. ; 28 to 19 in all the other cases taken together).

1. The smaller group, including all the cases other than the neuters plural, is here taken up first. Several distinctive types of usage are found among these. The noun may be singled out for special emphasis, which is secured by reversing the usual order of the words. The postposition of *hic* tends to dissociate the members of the demonstrative group. *Hic liber*, for example, is felt to express a single idea, more so than *liber hic* [6] : IV 18.3 non igitur simus adversum deos ingrati et, censeo, relinquamus *nebulonem hunc*. XI 7.7 rogo, praetor, inquit, subveni, succurre ! quonam usque nos *bovinator hic* demoratur ?

These two passages are quoted as from speakers who use the nouns emphatically as derisive epithets. In another type of phrase *hic* follows the noun immediately and is itself followed further by a definitive element. This definitive element may be a noun in the genitive case or a relative clause. Where a genitive noun or pronoun defines *hic*, there seems to be some resemblance to the type of phrase illustrated by the Greek : ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός, and it has about the force of the repeated article : IV 20.6 tum censor eum, quod intempestive lascivisset, in aerarios rettulit *causamque hanc* ioci scurrilis apud se dicti subscripsit : XIX 9.5 ut interea *labor hic* vigiliarum.

In the first of these passages the demonstrative looks both back and

6. Marouzeau, p. 157 ; Fischer's observation (p. 28) that a following *hic* is usually enclitic to a strongly emphasized noun is not substantiated by the examples in Gellius.

forward ; in the second it is used absolutely with the meaning " my ". It is possible to regard this order of words as the reverse of the type *hic* + gen. noun + noun. *Hic* in postposition with a relative clause following it, is illustrated in XII 14.5 a significatione quidem *voculae huius*, de qua quaerimus.

A third use is found when *hic*, while it follows the noun, really stands between two nouns and is felt to go closely with both : XI 15.8 ut productio haec et extremitas.

The other position also occurs under similar circumstances : XIII 25.9 valet haec repetitio instauratioque. Once chiasmus seems to account for *hic* in this position : XVIII 3.5 *urbem hanc* et hanc rempublicam [7].

Following the noun, *hic* often means " as follows " or " the following ". There are also many examples of *hic* before the noun with this meaning : IV 5. *lem.* *versus hic* a pueris Romae urbe tota cantatus est : malum consilium consultori pessimum est.

Besides those quoted as illustrations, *hic* stands immediately after the noun (exclusive of neuters plural) in the following passages :

hic : IV 5.5, 7 ; 11.9 : XI 7.9 : XV 9.3 : XVII 3.2. *huius* (m.) : III 10.8 : XIV 2.12. *hunc* : III 3.6 ; 16.11 : XIII 20.11 : XVIII 9.4. *hoc* (m.) : IX 4.13. *hi* : III 16.4 : XVI 10.1.

haec (f.) : I 8.3 : II 2.9 ; 17.9 : III 14.6 : XIV 1.22 : XVIII 1.12. *huius* (f.) : I 3.30 : III 10.6 : XVI 14.3. *hanc* : II 12.3 ; 17.3 ; 29.7 : VII 1.7. *hac* : XVII 7.4. *hae* : X 25.5. *has* : praef. 4. *his* (f. abl.) : praef. 19.

hoc (nom.) : IV 6.2 : V 21.5 : XI 16.8 : XIII 17.3 : XV 7.3 : XVII 2.10, 15 : XVIII 2.7 : XIX 13.3. *huius* (n.) : XIII 1.4 : XVII 1.9. *hoc* (acc.) : I 13.9 : III 11.7 : X 24.7 : XVI 10.5 : XVII 9.22 : XX 1.41. *hoc* (n. abl.) : III 12.4 : IX 12.4.

The accusative phrase of specification *hoc genus* is twice reversed : V 19.8 genus hoc in alienam familiam transitus : IX 10.6 genus hoc figurae.

2. The three cases of neuter plurals of this demonstrative include more than one half of all those that follow the noun immediately. All but three of these look forward to what follows. Moreover, they are all used with the same noun, *verba*, and its synonyms *vocabula* and *nomina*, which are each used once. A large number of the occurrences

7. The double phrase renders the simple τὴν Σπάρτην in a free rendering from Aeschines *in Tim.* 180.

of *hic* with these nouns are used as predicate in the clause: I 12.14 ea verba haec sunt.

Haec is unmistakably the predicate here because the noun is already modified by the demonstrative *ea*. It can be translated " as follows " in such a clause. Often *haec*, when used as the predicate, is separated from the noun which it follows. The examples of this are given under D below. The combination *verba haec*, from their use as subject and predicate respectively, is extended to other uses. First, *haec* keeps this position when it means " the following " but can not be the predicate, as in XI 13.9 nunc autem *verba haec* cupide et temere, " the words *c.* and *t.* " : XI 10.1 id C. Gracchus in oratione, qua legem Aufeiam dissuasit, in Demaden contulit *verbis hisce*.

Next, in the accusative case, *verba haec* comes to be the usual order of words for this phrase : I 15.7 item in libro de oratore primo *verba haec* posuit (quotation follows).

Lastly, the same order of the words is used when the demonstrative refers to what has been said before : XVIII 11.4 versus autem ipsos ex poematis Furianis, in quibus *verba haec* sunt, subdidi [8].

Besides the examples cited as illustrations *verba haec* (nom.) occurs in II 22.31 : III 16.7, 24; 18. *lem.* : V 19.9 : VI 3.14 ; 9.16 ; 19.7 : VII 11.2 ; 14.7 : IX 3.6 ; 12.14; 14.19, 26 : X 3.3; 13.4; 19.3 ; 24.3 : XI 1.6 ; 2.2 ; 13.5 : XII 13.22 : XIII 3.5 ; 18. *lem.*, 1 ; 25.11; 31.14 : XV 5.6 ; 8.2; 12.2 ; 19.2 : XVI 4.5 : XVII 13.6 ; 20.3 : XVIII 4.3 ; 6.4 : XIX 2.8 ; 14.7.

vocabula haec : XIII 3. *lem.*

verba haec (acc.) : I 7.9 ; 22.7 : II 22.29 : III 3.9 ; 16.13 : VI 3.26 ; 9.17 ; 15.2 : VII 2.12 ; 12.5 : IX 4.16 ; 5.8 : XII 2.4, 10 : XV 3.2 : XVII 7. *lem.* : XIX 4.6 ; 10. *lem.* ; 14.5 : XX 4.3 ; 6.11.

nomina haec : V 12.1.

verbis his (abl.) : I 3.31 ; 22.19 : III 16.8[9] : XVII 6.1 : XX 10.4.

8. The order *verba haec* is not universal in Gellius. *Haec* stands before *verba* 16 times, seven times immediately before and nine times separated.

9. In *verbis <his> enarravit* of this passage, *his* is an emendation by Hertz. The lectio vulgata had restored it before the noun. I should prefer to restore it before *verbis*, following the vulgate reading. For (1) the chance of haplography is about equal for either position ; (2) the order *his verbis* occurs 25 times to *verbis his* five times ; (3) cf. the parallel phrases in I 3.27 his verbis definivit ; XIII 24.1 his verbis utitur.

D. *Hic* Following the Noun and Separated (66)

Of the 198 times that this demonstrative follows the noun it is separated from it in one third of them. Compared with the other three positions, *hic* in this position is simple in its use. Three times it looks back to what has been said before. It the remaining places (63), it looks forward to what follows. Of these, 56 appear to be used as the predicate. Aside from the one instance: XVI 19.11 navitas *precum* eius *harum* commiseritum esse, *hic* is separated from the preceding noun only in the nominative and the accusative cases. The number of examples of each form is: *hic* 1, *hi* 8, *hos* 2, *haec* (f.) 6, *hanc* 3, *haec* (n. nom.) 44, *haec* (acc.) 1.

Of the three times that *hic* in this position looks back, twice there is special stress on the noun; in the third example no reason for the separation appears except to bind the genitive pronoun closely to its phrase: XI 13.4 cursus igitur hic et sonus: II 7.9 argutiola quippe haec: XVI 19.11 precum eius harum.

In comparison with its separation before the noun, the average length of the separators of *hic* after the noun is considerably greater. In about one half (32) of the latter examples, the separating element consists of three or more words, while before the noun *hic* was separated by more than two words only one tenth of the time. This more distant separation emphasizes the dissociation of *hic* when it follows the noun which was noted already where it follows immediately. Its more frequent predicate use after the noun also makes the longer separation more natural. A small variety of single-word separators occurs. The passages are arranged here according to the kind of separating word:

1. Conjunctions. *igitur*: IX 4.14 verba igitur haec. Also in XI 13.4. *quippe*: II 7.9 argutiola quippe haec.
2. Numeral. XII 6.2 versus tres hi sunt.
3. Genitive modifier. *eius*: VI 9.12 verbaque eius haec. Also in XIII 25.14: XVI 19.11.

Nouns. The nouns which are used as separators are most often proper names belonging closely to the demonstrative phrase. The demonstrative is always the predicate: I 6.8 verba Metelli haec sunt: II 17.2 verba Ciceronis haec: 24.9 verba Laevii haec: III 18.8 verba edicti haec: IV 15.1 verba Sallustii haec: X 26.9 versus Lucreti hi: XIII 30.6 verba Plauti haec: XV 29.2 verba Pisonis haec: XVI 7.12 verba Laberi haec.

4. Verbs. The only verb used as separator under this head is *esse* and the demonstrative is the predicate : I 7.20 verba sunt haec. Also in II 23.21 ; 27.1 ; 30.4 : V 12.3 : VI 4.5 ; 12.5 : IX 14.7 : XII 13.26 : XX 1.25.

5. A relative clause occurs three times as the separator between the noun and following *hic*; the demonstrative is the predicate : XI 14.2 ea verba, quae scripsit, haec sunt. Also in XIII 7.4 : XV 25.1.

6. Two or more words as the separating element (37). In many of the examples where two or more words make up the separating element they belong closely with the clause or phrase. The fact that *hic* is usually the predicate and means " as follows " seems to have its influence in drawing it toward the end of the sentence. The following illustrative passages are typical of such prolonged hyperbata : I 21.6 *verba* ex IV Lucreti *haec* sunt : XII 2.3 diridiculos *versus* Q. Ennium de Cethego antiquo viro fecisse *hos* dicit : XVI 10.16 *verba* autem Sallusti in historia Iugurthina de C. Mario consule et de capite censis *haec* sunt.

The remaining examples occur in I 19.1 ; 22.5, 8, 15 ; 26.10 : II 13.4; 20.6; 28.6 : III 17.6 : V 10.4; 13.5 ; 19.16 : VI 3.36 ; 6.3 ; 9.13 : X 1.6; 10.2; 15.32; 20.10 : XI 4.3 ; 11.1 ; 13.3 : XIII 7.2 ; 21.11, 17 : XIV 2.26 : XV 1.7 ; 14.2 : XIV 1.4 ; 3.7, 10; 11.3 : XIX 9.13 : XX 1.14.

E. *Hic* as Separator (22)

This demonstrative adjective is only seldom used as a separator between its noun and another modifier. It is found 22 times in this position [10]. The occurrences can be classified under two heads.

1. Both modifiers precede the noun in the order adj. + *hic* + noun. As a rule, the demonstrative *hic* is unemphatic in this position and the greater emphasis is on the other modifier which is separated from the noun, as in III 3.6 vel *unus* hercle, inquit, *hic versus* Plauti esse hanc fabulam satis potest fidei fecisse : X 20.7 totius huius rei : XI 16.7 nescio quis hic Plutarchus : IX 15.9 in eandem hanc controversiam.

The order of words in the last passage is the exception, since *idem* is found as separator between *hic* and the noun five times [11]. Even

10. Gellius uses *hic* as a separator more frequently than other Latin writers. Cf. Fischer, pp. 30, 31.

11. Page 64 above.

then *idem* appears to be the stronger modifying element. The other passages which belong here involve the separation of numerals from the noun : III 3.8 duo hos versus : IV 20.1 tria haec exempla : VI 6.1 ex quinque his sensibus : XIII 25.4 duo haec verba.

Again these examples do not illustrate the regular order, since numerals are found nine times as separator between *hic* and the noun [12].

2. Both modifiers follow the noun in the order, noun + *hic* + modifier : Praef. 20 fabulae suae spectandae legem dedit, eandem ego *commentariis his* legendis dabo.

In this passage the demonstrative has no particular emphasis but it is needed for clearness, " for reading the present commentaries ". The remaining places where *hic* is found in this position are of a quite distinct type, a type which suggests the attributive position of the article in the Greek phrase ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός. In most cases the demonstrative in this position appears a trifle more emphatic than the same phrase would be with the order *hic* + modifier + noun. Gellius has this type of demonstrative phrase much more frequently with *ille* as the middle element, as will appear in the next chapter. The examples of *hic* are these :

VI 1.6 Scipionem hunc Africanum : IX 8.3 verbis his paucissimis ; 9.12 versus hos amoenissimos : XI 1.4 verba haec legitima ; 15.5 particula haec extrema : XII 1.18 infantem hunc nostrum ; 5.5 amicus, inquit, hic noster : XIV 6.5 librum hunc opulentissimum : XV 13.2 verba haec omnia ; 31.4 oppidum hoc totum : XVI 1.1 ἐνθυμημάτιον hoc Graecum : XVII 19.6 verba haec duo : XIX 8.7 verba haec ex eo pauca.

This study of *hic* may suggest that this demonstrative in Gellius in its position with reference to the noun approaches almost indifference [13], especially so when it is compared with the position of *is* and *idem*. The frequent predicate use of *hic*, considerations of euphony, and a striving for variety of word order in phrases and clauses which are repeatedly used, are some of the factors that contribute to the frequent postposition of *hic* in Gellius [14]. Note its change of position in parallel circumstances in the same passage .

12. Page 65 above.

13. In early Latin prose *hic* almost invariably precedes. Cato *de agr.* has it 60 times without exception and Varro *de r.r.* 100 times with two exceptions.

14. Fischer's statement (p. 33) that the meaning and use of *hic* have no influence upon its position is not entirely true for Gellius.

VI 9.11, 12 Aelium quoque Tuberonem libro ad C. Oppium scripto occecurrit dixisse Probus adnotavit et *haec eius verba* apposuit : si generalis species occecurrerit. idem Probus Valerium Antiatem libro historiarum xxii speponderant scripsisse annotavit *verbaque eius haec* posuit : Tiberius Graccus, qui....

The variable order of words in a very common type of clause in which *hic* is the predicate and refers to what immediately follows is illustrated in the following examples :

II 23.21 versus sunt hi Caecili : III 16.4 Caecilii versus hice sunt : VII 14.7 verba haec sunt Platonis : XII 13.22 verba haec Ciceronis sunt : XIII 21.17 verba sunt Ciceronis haec ; 30.6 verba Plauti haec sunt.

When *hic* in such a clause refers to what has gone before, it may stand first : XIV 3.4 haec enim verba sunt de Cyro Platonis.

VI. POSITION OF *ILLE*

The demonstrative *ille* as an adjective occurs 235 times in Gellius, much less frequently than *hic*. Its position with reference to the noun shows considerable variety, but not so much as the position of *hic*. *Ille* is commonly used to point out what is remote in place, in time, or in thought [1], and it is in this respect opposed to *hic*. Besides the simple use of *ille* in the position before the noun, which is regular for demonstrative adjectives, it has other uses in other positions which will be noted later. It is convenient to consider the position of *ille* under two general heads, *viz.*, A. *ille* as the sole modifier in its phrase; B. *ille* used with other modifiers in its phrase. The second group comprises nearly three fourths of the total occurrences of *ille*.

A. *Ille* the Sole Modifier in its Phrase (62)

1. *Ille* immediately before the noun (40). In this, its normal position, *ille* commonly refers to what has been said before, but more remotely than what is referred to by *hic* : I 8.5 ad hanc *ille Demosthenes* clanculum adit.

When *ille* looks forward to a relative clause for its definition it may mean " the well known ", as in II 18.7 *ille Menippus* fuit, cuius libros M. Varro in saturis aemulatus est.

Ille may convey a feeling of personal aloofness or disapproval on the part of the writer or speaker, often with a noun of disparaging meaning, as in IV 1.13 tum *ille ostentator* voce iam molli atque demissa...inquit.

Occasionally *ille* is found where one would expect *is* or *hic* : XI 18.3 is Draco leges, quibus Athenienses uterentur, primus omnium tulit. in *illis legibus*.

It is also found as predicate it the position before the noun : VII 7.1 Accae Larentiae et Gaiae Taraciae, sive *illa Fufetia* est, nomina in antiquis annalibus celebria sunt.

Besides the above examples, *ille* stands immediately before the noun in the passages given below. The masculine nominative singular includes nearly one half of them all :

1. Lane, 2358; Fischer, p. 44.

ille : III 9.6 : V 14.11 ; 21.6 : VI 1.4 ; 8.7; 17.5, 13 : XII 1.23: XIII 19.3 : XV 2.4 ; 30.2 : XVII 9.16 : XIX 1.18 ; 10.6; 11.2 ; 13.5. *illius* (m.): III 3.4 (doubtful text). *illi* (m. dat.): III 7.18. *illum*: XIX 8.9. *illo* (m.) IX 14.8. *illis* (m. abl.): VII 3.1 : IX 4.6.

illa (f. nom.) : XIII 25.2 : XVII 10.3 ; 13.3. *illam* : IV 5.3. *illa* (f. abl.) : I 6.5 : XII 5.5 : XIII 5.10 : XVI 2.8. *illae* : IX 3.3.

illud (nom.) : IV 20.8. *illius* (n.) : I 21.4. *illud* (acc.) : III 15.2. *illo* (n.): VI 1.5.

2. *Ille* precedes and is separated from the noun (9). In this position *ille* has the same uses that were illustrated above. The usual effect of separation before the noun is to single out the demonstrative for special emphasis, usually in contrast, especially with certain types of separators. Here are placed only those cases of *ille* separated before the noun in which the separator is not an additional modifier. The variety of these extraneous separating elements after *ille* is small. They include conjunctions (2), adverbs (4) preposition (1), relative clause (2), verb (1), genitive noun (1). *Ille* is thus separated in :

II 1.5 in illius etiam pestilentiae vastitate, quae... civitatem... depopulata est, " even in the desolation of that (famous) plague ". II 23.14 de illo quoque loco : VI 1.10 illo quoque loco : VII 6. *lem.* quid illae sint aves : X 22.24 non de illa scilicet philosophia : XIII 20.11 ille autem pronepos : XIV 2.6 illum autem, unde petebatur, hominem : XVII 11.6 illam, de qua Erasistratus dixerat, ἐπιγλωττίδα : XVIII 1.5 ille contra Peripateticus.

3. *Ille* immediately following the noun (8). In this position *ille* is infrequent as the sole modifier. The inversion of the order of words in most of these examples has no explanation from the viewpoint of emphasis. *Ille* was sometimes used in Latin for the definite article [2], as for example *Medea illa*, which rendered the Greek phrase ἡ Μήδεια, " the famous Medea ". In the majority of these eight passages *ille* has the force of the article. It is worth nothing that most of them occur in chapters taken from Greek sources :

a) II 29.7 dominus postea *segetum illarum* filium adulescentem vocat, " afterwards the owner of the crops calls his youthful son ".

Gellius is here relating a fable taken ostensibly from Aesopus [3]. It is greatly elaborated in form and the nearest equivalent to *segetum*

2. Meader, *The Latin Pronouns*, p. 198.

3. Hosius, praef. XXIX, on the immediate source of the chapter gives : " ex Ennii saturis ".

illarum in the original is the phrase τῆς ἀρούρης. Almost certainly Gellius in this passage was striving to write rhythmical prose. Every other word appears put in to receive the repose of the accent; the essential words for the thought are: *dominus*. . .*segetum*. . .*filium*. . . *vocat*.The next occurs in a story taken from Apion Plistonices:

b) V 14.17 ut mihi a domino, *terrae illius* praeside, tutiores latebrae forent.

c) V 21.3 sed, opinor, assidua veterum scriptorum tractatione inoleverat *linguae illius* vox, quam in libris saepe offenderat.

Here, however, *linguae* is probably dative case with the verb *inoleverat*, and *illius* for *eius* as the possessive genitive which limits *linguae*.

d) XI 12.3 ambigui enim verbi *natura illa* esse debuit.

e) XIX 5.8 *indicium illud* est.

The source of d) is Chrysippus, and of e) Aristotle. In the first *ille* may be predicate with *esse* and in the second the subject.

f) XIV 2.25 ita *iudicatu illo* solutus sum: g) XV 31.2 *in obsidione illa* (text uncertain): h) XVI 8.11 *de Scipione illo*.

4. *Ille* follows and is separated from the noun (5). Five passages have *ille* in this position. In these the noun is stressed in contrast or in introducing a new topic. The separating words are all of the type which stress the first word:

I 15.15. Epicharmium quoque illud non inscite se habet: II 7.14 conclusio vero illa: III 10.5 dies deinde illos: VI 17.12 at nebulo quidem ille: XV 31.4 imagine quoque illa.

B. *Ille* Used with Other Modifiers in the Phrase

The rhetorical quality of Gellius' style in one particular direction is illustrated by the accumulation of complements or modifiers with the substantives. When *ille* is one of a number of modifiers there may be one of five principal types of word-order. The position of *ille* under this general head will be considered under these five types of word-order within the phrase. Each type takes account of the three leading elements of the phrase: *ille*, the noun, and the adjective or its equivalent. These parts may themselves have modifiers. The general types are:

1. *ille* + noun + modifier.
2. *ille* + modifier + noun.
3. noun + *ille* + modifier (or appositive).
4. modifier + *ille* + noun.
5. modifier + noun + *ille*.

1. The order of words in the first type of phrase is not very frequent (14). The initial demonstrative of the phrase has its usual force. The noun as the middle element is sometimes, but not always, the weakest part. In a number of instances the separation of the parts of the phrase by extraneous elements adds emphasis to the part that is separated. Sometimes such an hyperbaton merely effects a rhetorical interlocking of phrases. Since the general types of separating words and the general effect of separation, which have been studied under *is*, *idem*, *hic* above, are the same for this demonstrative, no detailed classification of the separators here is made. The examples with this order of words are:

Praef. 3 eadem rerum disparilitas, quae fuit in illis annotationibus pristinis, 20 ille homo festivissimus : III 10.8 illam quoque vim numeri huius observatam : IV 9.4 illa quoque vocabula ab eadem profecta origine : V 3.4 cum illo genere oneris tam impedito : X 19.2 ne illius quidem Demosthenis vestri; 24.5 illius versus Pomponiani: XIII 19.3 ille versus non minus notus; 25.12 ille iam tunc M. Cato antiquissimus : XV 3.8 in illo versu Homeri; 11.3 neque illis solum temporibus nimis rudibus : XIX 1.5 inque illo tumultu caeli marisque, 12 quaenam illa ratio esset pavoris sui : XX 1.14 illa lex talionis.

2. The order of words in the second type of phrase (44 times) also has *ille* at the beginning, but the noun comes third and the adjective, or its equivalent in the genitive of a noun, stands second. The demonstrative has about the same force as in the first type. It is possible in some of the examples to detect a weakening from the true demonstrative force to that of the definite article. A common position of the attributive adjective in Greek is between the article and the noun. The order of words, *ille* + gen. case + noun, seems to reproduce the effect of the word-order in a Greek phrase like αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες (Xenoph. *Hellen.* I 1). Separation of the parts of the phrase is common with this order of words. Strengthening adverbs and conjunctions that stress the word which they follow are frequent. The examples of this order of words are:

ille: I 2.6 dissertationum Epicteti digestarum ab Arriano primum librum in quo ille venerandus senex iuvenes... incessuit, 13 his ille auditis insolentissimus adulescens; 11.9 ille vult ardentissimus clamor militum Romanorum; 23.13 ille unus Papirius : II 15.6 ille pristinus honos: XIII 31.13 ille egregius nebulo: XV 9.6 ille semidoctus grammaticus : XVII 5.9 ille rhetoricus artifex.

illius (m.): II 30.4 illius infusi desuper spiritus.

illo (m.): I 3.1 ex illo incluto numero sapientium: II 3.6 in illo quoque Vergili versu: XIII 21.12 in illo quoque itidem Vergilii versu: XVII 21.4 ex illo nobili numero sapientium: XVIII 3.5 ex illo principum ordine; 9.5 ex illo Homeri versu: XIX 8.6 in illo memoratissimo libro.

illi (m. nom.): IV 15.6 illi malivoli reprehensores.

illos: XX 1.4 illos duodecim libros Platonis.

illis (m. abl.): II 30.6 ex illis quoque Homericis versibus: VI 2.1 in illis celebratissimis commentariis: XVI 8.17 in illis dialecticae gyris: XX 1.3 in illis tunc eorum sermonibus.

illa (f. nom.): I 23.11 illa mulierum intemperies: V 14.23 illa tunc mea opera et medulla: XI 2.6 illa quoque ex eodem libro praeclarae veritatis sententia: XIII 25.18 illa quoque aput eundem poetam una in duobus verbis sententia, 20 ne illa quidem significationis eiusdem repetitio: XIV 2.3 illa mihi tunc accidit inexplicabilis reperiendae sententiae ambiguitas: XIX 8.2 illa quodam die sermocinatio: XX 1.53 illa etiam ex duodecim tabulis de testimoniis falsis poena.

illa (f. abl.). XVI 5.10 ab illa ergo grandis loci consistione.

illas: X 28.1 illas quinque classes: XVIII 6.3 illas Melissi proprietates: XX 5.5 illas vero exotericas auditiones.

illud (nom.): I 9.12 tamquam illud fuit anticum consortium.

illius (n.): III 9.7 illius quoque veteris proverbii.

illud (acc.): praef. 12 illud Ephesii viri summe nobilis verbum: I 8.4 illud frequens apud Graecos adagium: V 11.1 illud Biantis, viri sapientis ac nobilis, responsum: XVII 11.5 in illud quasi aestuantis animae iter.

illo (n.): V 8.10 illo Homerico verbo: X 27.3 in illo utriusque populi verbo.

illis (n. dat.): I 14.2 illis omnibus membris.

illis (n. abl.): XX 5.7 in illis tamen tantis negotiis.

3. In the third type, *ille* stands in the midst of the phrase (66 examples). The third element is often an adjective, but also not infrequently a genitive, or a noun in apposition to the noun at the beginning. Sometimes it is the initial noun which is emphasized by the reversal of the order of words which places the demonstrative after the noun [4]. This is true when no other modifiers of the noun follow *ille*. When another modifier or an appositive follows, then a different type of phrase is produced. In many of the examples *ille* belongs closely with the last

4. Marouzeau, p. 158.

element and in combination with it appears to be used as an appositional phrase. An example is the phrase *Chilo ille sapiens*, "Chilo the Wise". Some other examples of this type can be looked upon as an inversion of type 2. Thus, *Hannibal ille audentissimus*. "the very daring Hannibal" or "Hannibal, that very daring man". All these have an order of words as in the Greek phrase ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός. A study of the examples below shows that *ille* is sometimes weakened in force and can be rendered by the definite article [5]. Compare with *vigor ille maternae flagrantiae* the sentence from Xenoph. *Hellen.* II 3.44 πολιτεία... ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων.

The examples of this type are as follows:

ille ; I 3.17 Chilo ille sapiens, 20 Pericles ille Atheniensis: II 29.1 Aesopus ille e Phrygia fabulator: IV 20.13 Caecilius quoque ille comoediarum poeta inclutus: VI 2.10 Hannibal ille audentissimus atque fortissimus: XII 1.13 sanguis ille opifex, 22 vigor ille maternae flagrantiae: XVI 3.1 homo ille fandi dulcissimus: XVII 21.1 sophista ille ἀπαίδευτος: XIX 1.7 ardor ille periculi, 10 Aristippus ille discipulus; 8.3 Caesar ille perpetuus dictator.

illius (m.): VI 20.6 hiatus illius Homerici: XVI 19.12 casus illius sui: XX 1.8 iudicis illius perfidiam contra omnia iura divina atque humana iusiurandum suum pecunia vendentis.

illi (m. dat.): V 3.1 libro suo illi incluto.

illum: I 11.17 morem autem illum ingrediendi ad tibicinum modulos proelii: II 18.2 librum illum divinum: III 9.5 equum illum nobilem Cassii: V 3.5 acervum illum et quasi orbem caudicum: XII 1.8 fontem illum sanctissimum corporis: XIV 1.26 cursum illum temporis transvolantis: XVII 16.2 Mitridatem illum Ponti regem: XIX 1.11 divitem illum Asiaticum.

illo (m.): IX 4.1 in portu illo inclito: XVI 19.1 super fidicine illo Arione: XVII 21.31 versu illo notissimo.

illi (nom.): I 10.1 Horatii illi trigemini.

illos: V 1.6 auditores illos Ulixi labores suos inlustrissime narrantis: IX 4.6 Scythas illos penitissimos: XII 1.20 versus illos Homeri.

illa (f. nom.): VI 3.52 superbia illa Rodiensium famosissima: XII 5.3 vis illa et natura morbi.

illius (f.): I 11.10 tibiae quoque illius contionariae: V 14.26 vitae illius ferinae.

5. The development of *ille* into the definite article through this type of phrase is discussed by G. Wolterstorff, *Entwickelung von ille zum bestimmten Artikel*, in *Glotta* X (1920) pp. 62-92.

illam: I 9.12 in cohortem illam disciplinarum: V 17.5 cladem illam pugnae Cannensis vastissimam: XI 15.7 reprehensionem autem illam Scauri: XX 10.10 vim illam civilem et festucariam.

illa (f. abl.): I 3.12 anxietate illa et quasi morositate disputationis: II 18.1 ex cohorte illa Socratica: XI 18.10 a lege illa decemvirali: XIII 1.6 in oratione illa egregia: XIV 2.12 religione illa cunctationis et sollicitudinis nostrae: XVII 21.9 pugna illa incluta Marathonia: XVIII 3.1 oratione illa saeva: XIX 8.15 e cohorte illa dumtaxat antiquiore: XX 1.19 de immanitate illa secandi partiendique, 23 rogatione illa Stolonis.

illae: XX 1.35 taliones illae tuae reciprocae.

illas: XIII 21.1 finitiones illas praerancidas.

illis: (f. abl.) II 12.1 in legibus Solonis illis antiquissimis.

illud: (nom.): XII 1.8 aequor illud ventris.

illud (acc.): V 14.21 in habitaculum illud suum: X 18.4 sepulcrum illud memoratissimum: XII 1.21 vinculum illud coagulumque animi; 5.6 verbum illud vetus: XIII 31.3 verbum illud scilicet e Graecia vetus.

illo (n.): XVIII 4.1 genere illo facetissimae dissimulationis.

illa (n. nom.): XIII 25.22 verba quoque illa M. Ciceronis in L. Pisonem trigemina.

illa (acc.): II 26.21 verba illa ex annali quarto decimo Ennii amoenissima: XVII 20.2 verba illa Pausaniae.

Here also seem to belong a few examples with *ille* between two elements of a personal name:

X 6.2 Appi namque illius Caeci, " of Appius the Blind": XVII 21.40 Appii illius Caeci: XIII 20.6 M. illius Catonis Censorii, 7 M. ille Cato.

4. The order of the words in the fourth type of phrase (47 times) also has *ille* as the middle element like the last type, but it is different in having an emphatic adjectival element first and the noun last [6]. As a rule *ille* with this order of words is weak in force and approaches the article. The parallel in Greek for this order of words is found in phrases which begin with an emphatic adjective, like πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην (Herod. I 122). An examination of the passages in Gellius where this type occurs shows that in a large percentage (but less than one half) the first element of the phrase is an emphatic word, as *idem*, *ipse*, *omnis*, or a numeral. In many of the others the initial adjective stands out

6. *Ille*, both in this type of phrase and in the preceding, is common in Latin prose; cf. Fischer, pp. 61-65.

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with emphasis either as a superlative or in contrast. Besides the parallel with the word-order in Greek phrases, it is significant that many of the examples of this and the preceding types of phrase in Gellius deal with Greek subject matter and contain Greek words. As before, the different parts of the phrase may be separated by other words. The examples follow:

ille: I 7.16 idem autem ille amicus noster: II 22.25 Horatianus quoque ille atabulus; 23.12 idem enim ille maritus senex: VI 8.6 idem ille puer δελφινερώμενος: XIII 18.3 Graecus ille παροιμιώδης versus: XVII 19.5 idem ille Epictetus.

illius (m.): I 11.5 ipsius illius egregii scriptoris: V 16.5 eiusdemque illius Enniani Neoptolemi.

illum: III 17.5 nobilem illum dialogum.

illo (m.): IV 5.7 de Graeco illo Hesiodi versu: XIII 20.13 ex altero autem illo Censorii filio: XIV 1.20 ipso etiam illo maris et feminae iam declarari coitu; 6.5 de uno maxime illo versu Homeri: XVIII 4.6 ipso illo quippe Cn. Lentulo.

illi (nom.): IX 4.10 idem illi scriptores: XVII 21.19 triginta illi tyranni.

illos: XI 18.17 sobrios illos et acres viros.

illis (m. abl.): XI 18.5 e septem illis inclutis sapientibus: XIII 28.1 ex tribus illis inclitis libris.

illa (f. nom.): I 3.23 minimaque illa labes; 11.14 naturalis illa Gracchi vehementia: V 6.15 atrocissima illa Catilinae coniuratio: VII 2.9 naturalis illa ac necessaria rerum consequentia: IX 4.14 notissima illa veterum poetarum de Caenide et Caeneo cantilena: XI 15.6 extrema illa particula: XV 31.3 memoratissima illa imago: XVI 10.8 omnisque illa duodecim tabularum antiquitas.

illius (f.): XVII 18 seriae illius et severae orationis.

illam: III 13.5 nobilem illam τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ δίκην: VII 2.8 omnem illam vim; 17.1 omnem illam postea librorum copiam: XIV 5.4 eandemque illam, quam definierat, regulam: XVIII 3.6 eandem illam sententiam diserti viri.

illae: IX 3.1 inclitae illae Demosthenis orationes.

illud (nom.): V 11.1 Protagorion illud, de quo dixi modo, ἀντιστρέφον: XIII 29.5 Graecum illud de Varronis satura proverbium.

illi (n.): XIV 3.3 inclito illi operi Platonos.

illud (acc.): I 15.18 Sallustianum illud, satis eloquentiae sapientiae parum: IX 10.4 venerandum illud concubii pudici secretum: XVIII 9.10 ipsum illud ἔπη.

illo (n.): I 19.7 eodem illo pretio: III 7.6 unoque illo negotio: XIV 1.15 eodem illo tempore, 26 in eodem illo puncto: XIX 7.2 in Laeviano illo carmine.

illa (n. nom.): I 5.1 τὰ κομψὰ illa χλανίσκια [7].

illis (n. abl.): XVII 20.8 ex isdem illis verbis.

5. The order of words in the fifth type in which *ille* stands at the end of the phrase is very rare; only two examples occur in Gellius: VII 10.4 eadem veste illa tectus redibat: XIX 9.14 Quinti Catuli versus illi fuerunt, "The verses of Q. C. were these".

7. The demonstrative replaces ταῦτα in the original (Aeschin. *in Tim.* 131).

VII. POSITION OF *ISTE*

The demonstrative pronoun *iste* is used properly to point out something near to, belonging to, or imputed to the person addressed [1]. In Gellius the adjective *iste* is used sometimes with this meaning. Most of the examples, however, have meanings which are extensions from the original meaning. *Iste* is the only one of the demonstrative adjectives which more often follows (140) than precedes (95) the noun which it modifies. In its general aspect of use and position *iste* resembles, more closely than any other pronoun so far considered, the demonstrative *ille.*

A. *Iste* Before the Noun

1. *Iste* precedes immediately as the only modifier in the phrase (47). In this position Gellius uses *iste* with a variety of meanings. With its common meaning it points out what pertains to the person addressed : XX 1. 36 sed quoniam acerbum quoque esse hoc genus poenae putas, quae, obsecro te, *ista acerbitas* est.

The transition from this use to a demonstrative of disapproval and disparagement is easy. The word is frequent in the Latin orators, but rare in the historians. The difference is due to the fact that the orator, both in his training school and in practice, usually was combating an opponent and had occasion to use *iste* frequently in the disparaging sense [2]. This use is common in Gellius : XIV 1.32 commonebat, ut caveremus, ne qua nobis *isti sycophantae* ad faciendam fidem inreperent.

The haughty daughter of Appius Claudius Caecus was jostled and annoyed by the crowd as she was leaving a public show : X 6.2 sed utinam, inquit, reviviscat frater aliamque classem in Siciliam ducat atque *istam multitudinem* perditum eat, quae me nunc male miseram convexavit.

In the great majority of instances in which *iste* refers to something

1. Lane, 2356; Fischer, p. 36.
2. Meader, *The Latin Pronouns*, p. 114.

specifically mentioned in the context, it looks back. It looks forward only a few times to what follows, like *hic* : XII 13.17 Tullium in tertia in Verrem scripsisse *istoc modo* (quotation follows).

The most numerous of the uses of *iste* in Gellius is that in which it refers back loosely to something mentioned or suggested in the general context. In such instances it is equivalent to the demonstratives *is* or *hic*. After *is* and *hic* had weakened to the force of the article, *iste* came to take their place in Latin [3]. In some cases *iste* seems to have been purposely chosen as a variant demonstrative, to avoid too frequent repetition of the others, as in III 9. (The chapter introduces the famous horse of Gnaeus Seius in sec. 2) 3 eum equum... sed eundem equum... 4 fama *istius equi*... eundem equum... 5 equum illum nobilem... 8 hunc equum.

Compare the use of *iste* and *is* in the following :

III 9. *lem.* spadices... deque *istius vocabuli* ratione; XVI 10. *lem.* adsiduus; et quae *eius vocabuli* ratio sit.

The above are typical examples of the uses of this demonstrative when it stands just before its noun. The remaining occurrences are [4] :

iste: XX 6.1. *isto* (m.): V 2.4: XIV 1.15 : XV 4.3 : XVIII 2.13. *isti* (nom.): II 22.7: VI 14.9: XVI 7.13: XVIII 8.1.

ista (*istaec*) (f. nom.): VI 3.3: XI 15.6: XVII 2.15. *istius* (f.): X 24.8: XVI 2.7: XIX 1.9. *isti* (f.): V 13.6: XVII 21.39. *istam* : II 7.9; 23.6. *ista* (f. abl.): I 11.12: V 10.12: VII 10.1: X 21.2; 28.2; XIII 7.6; 11.7: XVII 8.8: XIX 1.20: XX 6.12. *istae*: XV 22.2: XVI 13.9. *istarum*: VI 9.13. *istis* (f. abl.): VI 7.10: XX 1.7, 14.

istius (n.): IV 9. *lem.* : XVI 10.10; 17.2. *isto* (n.): VII 16.8. *ista* (n.nom.): VI 11.4. *istis* (n. abl.): VIII 1. *lem.*

2. *Iste* precedes and is separated from the noun (26). The uses of *iste* in this position are the same as those illustrated above.

a) Separated by an extraneous element (12). Only a small variety of these separators occurs and they usually add emphasis to the demonstrative :

inquit: III 7.8 sed istos, inquit, milites quadringentos. Also in XIV 1.16. *autem*: V 12.14 in istis autem diis. Also in XIX 2.3. *quoque*: XVI 18.3 istae quoque visiones. *tum* : VI 3.52 in ista tum causa.

3. Meader, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-159.

4. Not included in this list are the examples of *istiusmodi* used as an adjective and meaning "of this kind" or "such". It occurs 23 times in Gellius, *e. g.*, IV 9.12 omnia *istiusmodi* inclinamenta nimium ac praeter modum significant.

causa : I 23. *lem.* istius causa cognomenti. *ferme* : XVII 21.11 istis ferme temporibus. *omnino* : XI 16.8 ista omnino virtus est. Relative clause : VI 17.4 cum ista, quam me docuisti, significatione. Also in V 11.14 : XVI 5.11.

b) Separated by words which belong integrally to the phrase as additional modifiers of the noun (14). *Iste* in this position is not as emphatic as when it is separated by an element foreign to the clause. Its use in these examples includes two of the uses which were illustrated before : *iste* used in a disparaging sense, and used with a weakened force like *is* or *hic*. The separating word may be an adjective or the genitive of a noun. Additional separating elements are found in a few of the passages (*quidem*, *esse*, *ipse*, *enim*). Illustrations of the two principal uses of *iste* in this position are:

XIX 12.10 *isti* apathiae *sectatores*, qui videri se esse tranquillos et intrepidos et immobiles volunt.

Isti denotes disapproval. In the next *iste* stands for the article : XVIII 10.8 alia pleraque ab *isto* humanitatis *usu* non aliena, " many other things not without cultural value ".

The remaining examples are the following :

IX 1.7 super istis Claudii verbis ; 4.3 isti omnes libri Graeci : X 14.1 vulgo et istam esse verborum figuram ; 19.2 isto ipso defensionis genere ; 20.8 ista enim omnia vocabula ; 22.24 de ista futtili atque puerili meditatione : XII 13.29 istam verborum M. Tullii similitudinem : XV 2.8 cumque ista vini licentia : XVI 1.3 istam ipsam sententiam (*istam ipsam* equals *eandem*) : XVII 3.4 de isto Homeri verbo ; 5.3 ex istis acutulis et minutis doctoribus : XIX 1.13 super isto brevi quidem, sed necessario et naturali pavore.

3. *Iste* precedes and stands between the noun and another modifier (22). When *iste* precedes the noun, 22 times it is itself a separator between another modifier and the noun. Its force in this position is usually weak, resembling other demonstrative adjectives in the same position [5]. This is apparent in some cases from the fact that the preceding modifier is an emphatic adjective like *omnis* or *totus*. Numerals are frequently placed first in combination with *iste*, but they may also stand last. *Iste* in this position may even be superfluous, as in VII 2.2 si cui meum *istud* interpretamentum videbitur esse obscurius, ad ipsius verba animadvertat.

5. *E. g.*, *is* (p. 50) ; *hic* (p. 73) ; *ille* (p. 81).

Other occurrences of *iste* in this position are these: Praef. 16 minutae istae admonitiones: II 3.5 duo isti versus; 15. *lem.* idem isti honores: IX 5.7 cunctae istae sententiae; 10.5 totius istius verecundiae: X 11.6 duo ista verba (cf. 7 duo verba ista): XII 13.7 tres istae voces: XIV 7.4 omnes isti magistratus; XV 1.1 scholasticae istae declamationes; 3. *lem.* eadem istaec praepositio; 17. *lem.* patrium istum morem: XVII 11.4 apud duo ista foramina: XVIII 3.5 proba istaec et honesta sententia est; 5.3 nescio quem istum Ennianistam.

A few times *iste* in this position is followed by another modifier without effect on its force: II 26.4 simplices isti rufus et viridis colores, "the simple colors, red and green": VI 3.47 tenues istas et enucleatas voluntatum in rebus illicitis reprehensiones, 52 in tota ista Catonis oratione: XII 1.8 pleraeque istae prodigiosae mulieres: XV 29.1 duae istae in loquendo figurae: XIX 2.2 duabus istis beluinis voluptatibus (*cf.* 3 istae autem voluptates duae... his ferinis voluptatibus); 11.1 duo isti Graeci versiculi, "the following two Greek verses".

Once *iste* stands between the two parts of a proper name in a context where the man named is unfavorably criticised: III 19.3 Gavius iste Bassus.

B. *Iste* Following The Noun

1. *Iste* follows the noun immediately as the only modifier in the phrase (97). Numerically this is the most frequent position of *iste* in Gellius. Several types of usage can be distinguished. No certain example of the meaning "that of yours" can be cited, however. The other uses which have been illustrated before are found here also: I 23.11 senatores ingredientes in curiam, quae illa mulierum intemperies et quid sibi *postulatio istaec* vellet, mirabantur.

Istaec is disparaging here and reveals a touch of impatience and annoyance. Like *hic*, *iste* very often looks forward to what is stated next, as in I 21.1 *versus istos* ex georgicis Vergilii... (verses follow).

Strangely enough *iste* is used with the meaning "the present" or "my" in a number of places. *Hic* would be expected in a passage like Praef. 14 si cui forte nonnumquam tempus voluptasque erit *lucubratiunculas istas* cognoscere.

The demonstrative has a modestly self-depreciatory force here which augments that of the diminutive. This is an easy extension from the disparaging use. In the next example *iste* serves to render the Greek article. It occurs in Gellius' translation of a short letter from

Philip of Macedon to Aristotle. The Greek phrase is καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων διαδοχῆς : IX 3.5 et *rerum istarum*[6] susceptione.

Finally, *iste* is very often used with the force of the less specific demonstratives *is* and *hic*, which is also a common use when it precedes the noun. Compare the following:

II 24.10 lex deinde Licinia rogata est... *huius legis* Laevius poeta meminit... Lucilius quoque *legis istius* meminit, " Lucilius also mentions the law ".

X 21.2 *verbo isto* promisce usitati sint; XIII 17.2 *eo verbo* veteres esse usos.

XIII 21.18 elegantior *hoc in loco* sonus est, 20 quia *in loco isto* positum subtilius ad aurem molliusque est.

Iste also alternates with *ille*: XV 31.4 memoratissima *illā imago*... quae, malum, inquiunt, ratiost, ut tu *imaginem istam* velis disperdere?.. *imagine* quoque *illa* integra... potieris.

Iste in this position occurs further as follows:

iste: XVII 3.3. *istius* (m.): I 3.29 : II 3.4; 16.8: III 10.7: V 11.8: XIII 29.3: XVII 11.1. *isti* (m. dat.): IX 11.10: XVII 5.13. *istum*: I 11.15: II 22.24: VII 8.5 : XVIII 12. *lem.* *isto* (m.): II 8.9: IV 11.10. *isti* (nom.): II 29.11: VI 16.2. *istos*: VI 20.1: XII 11.6. *istis* (m. abl.): XIV 1.35.

ista (f. nom.): V 12.10: IX 13.7: X 3.15; 29.4: XI 16.6: XIV 1.20; 2.13: XV 3.6: XVIII 2.11. *istius* (f.): IX 14.8: XI 5.4: XII 14.1: XIV 1.14; 3.7: XVI 2.8: XX 6.14. *isti* (f.): II 7.22; 23.13. *istam*: VII 2.15: IX 14.26; 16.7: XI 3.3: XIV 4.5: XVIII 7.4. *ista* (f. abl.): I 22.15: XI 13.5: XII 13.17: XV 3. *lem.*: XVII 13.5: XX 1.27. *istae*: IV 17.7: XIV 1.20: XVII 21.1. *istarum*: XVIII 2.9, 16: XX 1.22, 27. *istis* (f. dat.): XVII 21.50: XVIII 4.11. *istas*: XI 5.4: XIV 1.10, 11, 18: XX 1.10.

istius (n.): III 18.3: VI 17.12: XIII 3.6; 31.3: XVII 9.11. *istud* (acc.): VII 15.6. *isto* (n.): I 12.7: II 19.8: V 8.11: VI 7.9; 17.9, 11: VII 16.12. *ista* (n. nom.): IV 2. *lem.*: XII 14.5: XVIII 4. *lem.*; 14.6. *istorum* (n.): II 16.5: X 20.9: XIII 1. *lem.* *ista* (acc.): VII 14.3: X 11.7: XVIII 14. *lem.*

2. *Iste* follows and is separated from the noun (10). Separation of *iste* from the noun which precedes it usually adds emphasis to the noun

6. Meader (*op. cit.*, p. 205) cites only three instances of the use of *iste* in Latin translations which represent the Greek article. The use of *iste* for the article in Latin is evidently rare. The demonstrative in this passage is troublesome to editors. F. Skutch would emend to *nostrarum*, while Hosius questions whether it should not be *ipsarum*.

in contrast or comparison. This demonstrative in this position has the uses already illustrated for it in the other positions. Only a few instances are found and the variety of separating elements is small:

quoque: V 10.12 cum te non in causa tantum, sed in argumento quoque isto vinco. Also in I 4.1. *autem*: I 7.19 rationem autem istam. Also in XIII 9.6: XIV 4.3. *quidem*: III 7.8 consilium quidem istud. Also in XX 1.10. *esse*: I 3.14 declinatio esse ista. Also in XVII 2.11. *me*: XX 1.49 invidiam me istam.

3. *Iste* follows the noun immediately and is further followed by an additional complement of the phrase (33). It is not so weak in force in this position as when it stands as separator before the noun, but is much like *ille* in the same position, which reproduces the Greek article repeated after the noun. The following example gives an illustration of the use of *iste* to point out what the writer repudiates in contrast to what he approves, which is referred to by *hic*: XV 2.4 non, ut ille nebulo opinabatur, *ebrietatem istam* turpissimam.... laudavit, sed *hanc* largiorem paulo iucundioremque vini *invitationem*... non inprobavit.

The third element in the phrase following *iste* may be an adjective or a noun in the genitive case, or both together, or it may be a prepositional phrase. The remaining occurrences in Gellius are:

I 15.17 versus istos Euripidi; 16. *lem.* verba istaec Quadrigari; 23. *lem.* historiaque ista omnis; 25.8 cessationem istam pugnae pacticiam: II 8.6 partem istam synlogismi; 24.11 legibus istis situ atque senio oblitteratis: IV 5.6 de versu isto senario: V 21.7 auctoritates istas ex Faunorum et Aboriginum saeculo repetitas: VI 2.11 iunctura ista verborum; 3.10 orationem istam pro Rodiensibus; 19.8 intercessionem istam pro Scipione Asiatico: VII 9.1 locum istum totum: X 12.8 ab hominibus istis male sollertibus; 24.2 significatione ista dierum: XI 15.8 particulam istam postremam: XII 1.17 nobilitatem istam nati modo hominis; 4.5 picturamque istam morum et ingenii; 5.8 adfectiones istas primitus penitusque inditas: XIII 31.10 librum istum tibi totum: XIV 1.2 disciplinam istam Chaldaeorum: XV 7.3 nocte quoque ista proxima superiore: XIX 1.18 visa istaec animi sui terrifica[7]; 2.6 voluptatibus istis duabus coeundi atque comedendi; 6.2 de ratione ista reddita; 12.3 adfectionibus istis animi, 4 sensus istos motusque animi: XX 1.4 tabulas istas duodecim, 21 curriculis istis disputationum vestrarum academicis, 30 causatio ista aegri corporis, 31 aere isto pauco, 52 saevitia ista poenae; 6.14 scripturam istam sincerissimam.

7. This phrase is given as a rendering of the Greek: τὰς τοιαύτας φαντασίας.

VIII. POSITION OF *IPSE*

The intensive pronoun *ipse* as a demonstrative adjective may stand either before or after the noun and may be separated from it in each position. *Ipse* is itself emphasic in meaning [1]. In whatever position it stands it calls special attention to the noun which it modifies, usually by way of a contrast. This is the original meaning and force of *ipse*. But just as the demonstratives departed from their original meanings by shifts and extensions, so *ipse* also is used by Gellius in many places with extended and attenuated force.

A. Illustrations of *Ipse* in Different Positions

In order to illustrate how this demonstrative adjective may stand in any one of the positions mentioned, pairs of parallel passages are cited here in which *ipse* emphasizes a contrast with its normal force:

XVI 12.6 sive hoc autem *ipse Cloatius* sive nescio quis alius nebulo effutivit; XVIII 6.5 utrum autem hoc... *Melissus* excogitaverit *ipse* et coniectaverit, an scriptum ab alio quo legerit.

The contrast in each of these passages is clearly expressed; *ipse* precedes in the first, and it follows and is separated in the second [2].

III 16.19 non ad *finem ipsum*, sed proxime finem; XII 13.24 non ad *ipsum modum*, set retro paululum et citra modum.

X 11.1 contra *ipsius verbi* sententiam; XII 13.12 secundum *verbi ipsius* rationem.

XI 13.10 si quidem gravis atque integra et sincera sententia diceretur, tum, si videretur, *gressibus* quoque *ipsis* orationis et gestibus plauderetis; XII 13.28 intra parietes est, quibus cubiculum includitur, qui tamen *ipsi* quoque *parietes* in cubiculo sunt.

XI 5.6 non ut *rerum ipsarum* natura est, sed ut adfectio animi; XVII 20.6 (*bis*) ad *ipsa* enim Platonis *penetralia ipsarumque rerum* pondera et dignitates pergendum est, non ad vocularum eius amoenitatem.

1. Nägelsbach-Müller, *Lateinische Stilistik* (1905), sec. 91.

2. In Cicero's *Letters*, *ipse* often follows the noun, but with proper nouns it more often precedes; Albrecht, p. 7.

Discussing the meaning of the phrase "intra Kalendas", whether it includes the Kalends themselves as well as the days just previous thereto, Gellius uses the following variety of expressions: XII 13.1 ipsae quoque Kalendae, 6 Kalendis quoque, 12 Kalendis, 15 Kalendis quoque, 29 ipsis Kalendis.

Two passages show chiastic arrangement of the words for emphasis: X 27.5 non *hastam ipsam* neque *ipsum caduceum* missa dicit; XI 16.7 nomenque *ipsius virtutis*, de qua locuturus esset, *libro ipsi*... praescripsit.

The above examples illustrate the use of *ipse* to reenforce a contrast. Its position is indifferent from the viewpoint of such a use. The demonstrative *ipse* was early weakened in force from a word expressing contrast to a word indicating identity and became equivalent to *idem* [3]. Gellius has this use frequently. Often *idem ipse* are used together and mean "the same". The position of this combination is before the noun:

IV 6.4 super *eodem ipso verbo* requiri audio: XVII 1.11 eodem ipso errore, "the very same error".

Other demonstratives besides *idem* may be combined with *ipse* with much the same meaning: IV 17.15 *id ipsum* autem *verbum* M. Cato sub alia praepositione dicit in oratione, "the same word": XIII 3.4 ob hoc ipsum ius: XVI 1.3 istam ipsam sententiam.

Ipse was used also for the simple demonstratives *is*, *hic*, *ille* [4]. Late Latin writers show abundantly this weakened force of *ipse*, in particular those who were under the influence of Greek literature [5]. Examples from Gellius of *ipse* used with the weakened force are:

IX 9.16 florem *ipsius totius loci* Vergilium videri omisisse, "Vergil seems to have missed the beauty of this whole passage": XIII 13.3 magistratus populi Romani procul dubio esset et neque vocari... salva *ipsius magistratus* maiestate posset: XVII 1.9 antiquiores *verbo ipso* alio quoque modo usitati sunt.

Ipse is used also after the noun and with another modifier following it. In this position it is parallel to *ille* in the same position and represents the Greek article in a phrase like ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός. Examples are: VI 3.55 orationem ipsam totam Catonis: VII 1.7 natura ipsa rerum: X 26.10 verba ipsa de scaphis: XVII 11.5 ore ipso arteriae communito: XX 5.7 regemque ipsum Darium.

3. Meader, *The Latin Pronouns*, pp. 165 ff.

4. Meader, *op. cit.*, pp. 184 ff. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (p. 301), says: "*ipse* est peut-être celui de tous les pronoms dont le domaine s'est le plus élargi; il empiète souvent sur *idem*, sur *is*, *hic*, *iste*, ou *ille*".

5. Meader, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

When *ipse* belongs to two nouns it may without any difference in emphasis stand before the first, between the two, or after the second: Praef. 10 ex ipso loco ac tempore: I 7.19 sonus tamen et positura ipsa: II 21.9 a figura posituraque ipsa: V 15.7 plaga ipsa atque percussio: VII 2.7 proprietas eorum est ipsa et qualitas, 11 genera ipsa et principia: IX 1.5 praecipitantia qualicumque ipsa et pondere: X 20.7 caput ipsum et origo: XIII 25.28 res corporaque ipsa: XIV 1.20 pater ipse atque mater: XVII 5.4 benignitasque eum per sese ipsa et liberalitas: XVIII 11.2 dictu profatuque ipso.

The phrase of the type *genus ipsum* meaning "intrinsic", invariably has *ipse* after the noun: I 3.24 genere ipso. Also in II 7.19: VII 2.10: XI 15.4: VII 2.7 ingenia tamen ipsa.

A type of phrase which Gellius uses frequently is one with which he introduces the quotation of an author's exact words after having made a previous reference to them, *e.g.*, verba ipsa Plutarchi... subscripsi, "I have appended here the actual words of Plutarch". A contrast is implied. The order of the words in the phrase varies without apparent reason save the fancy of the writer. *Ipse* may agree with the noun *verba* or with the genitive of the phrase, usually a proper name, with no difference in meaning or emphasis. Examples of the different positions and agreements of *ipse* in parallel passages are the following: I 11.16 verba *ipsius Ciceronis* apposui: XIII 25.5 *verba ipsa* M. Tullii statim dixit; 7.6 cum *ipsius Aristotelis* verbis: XIX 5.9 *verba ipsa* Aristotelis.

Hyperbaton may occur with any of these types: VI 3.49 *verba* adeo *ipsa* ponemus Catonis: VII 2.2 *ipsa* autem *verba* Chrysippi.

The remaining examples of this type are given below: *ipse* agrees with the proper name in III 7.18 ipsius Catonis verbis; 16.23 verba ipsius Plinii. Also in IX 3.6: X 12.10; 21.2: XI 10. *lem.*: XII 13.25: XIII 15.4.

Ipsa agrees with *verba* in I 3.25 verba adeo ipsa Theophrasti. Also in I 18.2: II 2.13; 8.1: III 16. *lem.*: IV 11.5, 12: V 6.25: X 22.3; 26.2: XIII 12.5: XIV 4.4: XVI 3. *lem.*: XX 1.49.

Gellius does not always add *ipse* in a phrase of this type, *e.g.*, II 20.1 verba Varronis subieci. In all the above examples save one, *ipse*, whether it is in agreement with *verba* or with the proper name, precedes the name in the genitive. In other words, *ipse* stands, not counting separators, first or second in the phrase, *verba* stands first or third and the genitive noun stands second or third. Furthermore, it is true that when the genitive of the phrase is a proper name, *ipse* and the element

with which it agrees are never separated by the third element. But such a separation is found when the genitive is a pronoun referring to the author, instead of the author's name, as in V 15.8 *ipsis* eorum *verbis* utar : XVI 6.15 *verba* illius *ipsa* posui : XIX 13.5 *versus*que eius *ipsos* dixit. Similar is I 11.5 sed *ipsius* illius egregii *scriptoris* uti verbis libet.

The numerous examples which have been given above show that in Gellius the adjective *ipse* stands indifferently before or after the noun. Being emphatic in meaning, it does not depend upon its position for emphasis [6]. Rhythm and euphony almost certainly figure in determining its position in some instances. The number of occurrences in the different positions are as follows :

	Preceding	Following
ipse next to the noun	49	63
— separated	43	26
— as separator	24	8

Before the noun *ipse* is a separator only after another demonstrative.

B. Other Occurrences of *Ipse*

In addition to the 79 examples and references given above, *ipse* as an adjective occurs in the passages listed below. They are placed in two general groups.

a) *ipse* before the noun :

ipse: I 20.5 ; 21.3 : III 10.4: V 8.3 : XI 9.2: XII 2.13 : XIII 21.24: XIV 7.13 : XVII 6.8: XX 1.22, 35. *ipsius* (m.) : II 3.5 : XII 1.23 ; 4.5. *ipsi* (m. dat.): III 3.1: IV 8.8. *ipsum* (m.): III 9.4: XVII 21.43, 45. *ipso* (m.): I 18.3 : XII 13.11, 25: XIV 1.20 : XV 18. *lem.*: XVII 21.25 : XVIII 4.6 : XX 1.55. *ipsi* (nom.) : VII 17.1: XVI 13.4. *ipsos*: II 24.6 : VI 16.3 : XIII 31.10.

ipsa (f. nom.) : XV 18.3 : XVI 5.3: XVII 5.3 : XVIII 7.9 : XX 1.31; 6.11. *ipsius* (f.): praef. 10, 24: III 16.20 : IX 5.7 : XII 5.10. *ipsam*: V 1.3 : VI 1.10 : XIV 1.7: XVI 5.12 : XVII 5.13 : XX 1.37. *ipsa* (f. abl.) : XI 13.9: XII 8.6 : XIII 20.16: XIV 2.1 : XVII 1.11. *ipsae*: IV 9.14 : VII 6.8. *ipsas* : XII 1.9. *ipsis* (f. abl.) : I 5.2 : II 7.18 ; 26.5 : X 9.3 : XVI 5.3.

ipsum (nom.): II 19.5: XII 13.7: XVIII 6.8. *ipsius* (n.): XII 1.16: XIII 11.1. *ipsum* (n. acc.) : I 22.8: III 16.12 : IV 17.15: VI

6. Fischer (p. 114) asserts the contrary, which is not true for Gellius.

3.14: XIV 1.10: XVIII 9.10. *ipso* (n.): IX 9.15: X 19.2: XVI 13.5. *ipsa* (n. nom.): VI 14.7: IX 4.4: XI 13.5. *ipsa* (acc.): VI 3.16: XV 2.6: XVI 5.12: XVII 20.6: XVIII 4.4. *ipsis* (n. abl.): VI 19. *lem.*: IX 4.6: XII 1.9; 5.7.

b) *ipse* after the noun:

ipse: VI 21.3: VII 14.6: XIV 7.2: XVI 12.8. *ipsius* (m.): II 22.21. *ipsum* (m.): III 14.18: X 17.2; 18.6: XII 5.7: XVIII 4.2, 6. *ipso* (m.): I 3.8; 4.4: XVII 10.8. *ipsi* (nom.): XII 1.8: XVIII 4.2, 6. *ipso* (m.): I 3.8; 4.4: XVII 10.8. *ipsi* (nom.): XII 1.8: XVIII 11. *lem. ipsos*: XVIII 11.4.

ipsa (f. nom.): V 10.15: VII 1.10: XIV 3.8. *ipsius* (f.): I 3.28: VII 7.2. *ipsam*: I 23.3: XI 13.10: XVIII 7.8. *ipsa* (f. abl.): V 12.6; 14.21: VII 17.1: XX 1.50. *ipsarum*: XII 13.5. *ipsas*: VII 2.11.

ipsum (nom.): IV 17.8: VII 5.8. *ipsius* (n.): XIII 20.15. *ipsum* (n. acc.): I 3.12: III 1. *lem.*: XI 1.5. *ipsa* (n.nom.): VI 3.21: XI 11.1: XIII 8.2; 25.26. *ipsorum* (n.): V 16.3. *ipsa* (acc.): I 4.3: XII 13.18: XIV 1.23. *ipsis* (n. abl.): I 3.9.

C. Separation of *Ipse*

a) *Ipse* before the noun. Separation of *ipse* before the noun occurs frequently. The usual effect of such a separation is to stress more fully the contrast expressed by *ipse*. The separation may be felt to be the more needful since *ipse* in Gellius is often noticeably weakened in force. This effect particularly is produced by adverbs and conjunctions of a strengthening nature. The separating words which are used are: *quoque* (5), *autem* (5), *ille* (3), *etiam* (2), *quidem* (1), *iam* (1), *statim* (1), *quasi* (1), relative clause (2), adjective (1). Most numerous as separator (14 times) is a noun in the genitive case which is placed between *ipse* and the noun, in order to bind it closely to its phrase, since in all cases it serves to define *ipse*. Only a few times does the separating element consist of more than two words.

Ipse before the noun stands as a separator between *hic* (6), *idem* (5), *is* (5), *iste* (1) and the noun. In combination with these demonstratives *ipse* expresses identity or strengthens the demonstrative which goes before.

b) *Ipse* after the noun. *Ipse* following the noun is sometimes separated from it by intervening words. The commonest effect of such a separation is to set off the noun more clearly, as in III 1. *lem.* non animum modo virilem, sed *corpus* quoque *ipsum* effeminare; " but it weakens

even the body also ". XII 13.5 non enim verborum tantum... sed *legum* quoque *ipsarum* iussa consensu tacito oblitterantur.

Words used as separators after the noun are : *quoque* (9), *autem* (4), *adeo* (2), *tamen* (1), *qualicumque* (1), genitive noun or pronoun (3), verb (2), relative clause (2). A separator of more than two words occurs twice.

Following the noun, *ipse* is itself followed 27 times by a noun in the genitive case which belongs directly to the phrase. When *ipse* precedes the noun, almost without exception the limiting genitive is taken into the midst of the phrase. In these circumstances the question naturally arises as to whether *ipse* does not, like *ille*, and sometimes *hic* and *iste*, reflect by its position the use of the article in Greek.

IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A. Possessives

Exclusive of quotations there are 409 possessive adjectives used in the *Noctes Atticae.*

	Precede		Follow	
(1) 409 possessives	121		288	
(2) 89 involved in separation	44		45	
68 are separated		37		31
21 are separators		7		14
(3) 62 in special phrases (unseparated)	17		45	
meus, noster conventional		8		9
time phrases with *memoria, aetas*		6		16
maiores nostri type		1		11
chiasmus explains position of		2		9
(4) Of the remainder	60		198	
53 are superfluous				53
136 for clearness, unemphatic				136
52 are emphatic				
contrast expressed		16		
— implied		36		
17 contrary to rule (uncounted above)				
probably unemphatic		8		
probably emphatic				9

The above table is so arranged that no possessive is counted twice. All those involved in separation (2) are eliminated first. This group includes a number which are special phrases, *e. g.*, *nostri* precedes *maiores* and is separated five times. Groups (2) and (3) again take in some that are superfluous and some that are contrary to the rule for position according to emphasis. In groups (2), (3), and (5) there are 51 exeptions to the rule for position (12.5°/₀). This seems like a large percentage of exceptions and may indicate carelessness on the author's part. Phrases partly conventional and stereotyped involve 64 possessi-

ves (16°/₀), among which are many of the exceptions. At least 53 possessives (13°/₀) are used unnecessarily, which also seems like a large percentage. These two facts point to the rhetorical and partly artificial quality of Gellius' style.

B. *Is*

	Precede	Follow
699 occurrences of *is* (adj.)	679	20
596 next to the noun	581	15
6 as separator (before the noun)		
103 separated from the noun	98	5

This demonstrative is remarkable for the regularity both of its use and of its position. The variety of separators is fairly large. The fifteen instances of postposition include eight in the genitive case, perhaps through confusion with the position of the pronoun *eius* when used for the possessive of the third person. Four more are followed by a relative clause, although approximately one tenth of those that precede also look ahead to a relative clause.

C. *Idem*

	Precede	Follow
339 occurrences of *idem* (adj.)	328	11
252 next to the noun	242	10
7 as separator (before the noun)		
87 separated from the noun	86	1

Idem is regular in its position like *is*. It varies more in its use. Most often it expresses or implies identity. It is also used for *is* and frequently is combined with *hic*, *ille*, *ipse*. Separations of *idem* involve one out of four occurrences, as against one out of seven with *is*. The kind and variety of separators is about the same. Of the exceptions to position, five are feminine genitives singular. Euphony figures in a few of the exceptions, as does also emphasis upon the noun. Its use as predicate or with a relative clause does not affect its position.

D. *Hic*

	Precede	Follow
711 occurrences of *hic* (adj.)	499	212
423 next to the noun	277	146
22 as separator (8 prec., 14 fol.)		
288 separated	222	66

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The following table shows the uses of *hic* in the different positions (excepting the 22 used as separators):

	Look back	Look forward	Both ways	Absolute	Predicate
269 precede	140	105	9	15	(1)
222 precede, separated	138	56	16	12	(20)
132 follow	31	87	4	10	(34)
66 follow, separated	3	63	0	0	(56)

Separation with *hic* is more frequent than with *is* and *idèm*, involving one out of about 2.5. The separators are also wider in variety and of greater average length. *Hic* follows the noun more than one-fourth of the time, in which position it is sometimes emphatic and often is the predicate. Euphony and a desire for variety of word-order aided in extending its postposition. From a clause like *verba sunt haec*, "the words are as follows", the order *verba haec* became common and the same position for *hic* was freely extended to other words and cases.

E. *Ille*

	Precede		Follow	
235 occurrences of *ille*	154		81	
(1) 62 *ille* as sole modifier	49		13	
48 next to the noun		40		8
14 separated		9		5
(2) 173 *ille* with other modifiers	105		68	
1. *ille* + noun + modifier		14		
2. *ille* + modifier + noun		44		
3. noun + *ille* + modifier				66
4. modifier + *ille* + noun		47		
5. modifier + noun + *ille*				2

This demonstrative is distinguished for its frequent use along with other modifiers in the phrase. When it is the sole modifier of the noun it is sometimes weakened to equal *is* and the article. Its articular use is also apparent in the combinations under (2), especially in 1, 2 and 3. In the last it resembles the repeated article in Greek before an attributive adjective. Gellius has *hic* thirteen times in the same position, also *iste* and *ipse*.

F. *Iste*

	Precede		Follow	
235 occurrences of *iste*	95		140	
(1) 166 as the sole modifier	59		107	
next to the noun		47		97
separated from the noun		12		10
(2) 69 with other modifiers	36		33	
1. *iste* + modifier + noun		14		
2. modifier + *iste* + noun		22		
3. noun + *iste* + modifier				33

Iste is notable from the fact that it follows more often than it precedes the noun. Besides its regular use, it is freely used as a variant for *is*, *hic*, *ille*, and as the article. The latter use is especially apparent in types 1 and 3 under (2). It has all three types of phrase in common with *ille* and type 3 with *hic* also.

G. *Ipse*

	Precede	Follow
213 occurrences of *ipse*	116	97
next to the noun (not a separator)	49	63
separated from the noun	43	26
separator	24	8

Itself emphatic in meaning, *ipse* shifts freely in its position with reference to the noun. There are examples also of its weakened force, of its use for *is* or *ille*, and as the article. It combines with other demonstratives for reenforcement of the latter. The type of phrase: noun + *ipse* + genitive noun, is occasionally found.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Position of *Eius*

The possessive adjective *suus*, like the reflexive *se*, is used regularly only when referring to the grammatical subject of the sentence or clause. For the possessive of the third person, referring to another word than the subject, the genitive case of *is* is used. Compare, praef. 9, sunt qui indices *libris suis* fecerint; I 3.9 philosophiae sectatores, ut in *libris eorum* scriptum est. The possessives *eius*, *eorum*, *earum* occur in Gellius 252 times. The meaning of these words passes by almost indistinguishable degrees from the idea of actual material possession through the subjective and objective genitive to the truly demonstrative force. The following examples illustrate some of the steps:

Material possession: VI 3.52 bona divitiaeque *eorum*: I 5.2 manusque *eius*. Possession as of an author (verging on the subjective): I 3.9 ut in libris *eorum* scriptum est (*i. e.*, not in the books which they personally own, but which they wrote). Subjective: VI 8.7 adventum *eius* opperiri consueverat. Objective: III 9.4 dominum *eius* (*sc.* equi). Definitive: When used in this sense *eius* is often followed by a relative clause. The idea of possession is secondary or is entirely absent: II 6.18 nomen *eius*, qui templum Dianae Ephesi incenderat: I 3.7 quod mihi optimum factu duxerim, diversum *eius* aliis suasisse.

Of the 252 occurrences in which the genitive of *is* is used with a noun, possibly 40 are subjective, about 12 objective, a few definitive, and a few are genitives of the whole. These words follow the noun 198 times. As possessives they are used for clearness.

The same forms, used for clearness, may precede the noun and stand between another modifier and the noun. This occurs eighteen times, as in I 17.2 Xanthippe, Socratis philosophi uxor, morosa admodum fuisse fertur.... has *eius* intemperies in maritum. The same forms are unemphatic twelve times between a preposition and its noun.

Used with emphasis, *eius*, *eorum*, *earum* stand before the noun twelve times, as in IV 20. *lem.* notati a censoribus, qui audientibus iis dixerant ioca quaedam intempestiviter; ac de *eius* quoque nota deliberatum, qui steterat forte apud eos oscitabundus.

In fourteen passages the position of *eius* before the noun is unex-

plained from the standpoint of emphasis. Some are almost certainly felt as demonstratives rather than as possessives. A few of these involve textual uncertainties.

Besides the genitive cases of *is*, the same case (but singular only) of *ille, ipse,* and *iste* is also used as the possessive of the third person. *Illius* with the same force as *eius* is used twelve times following the noun, as in I 3.13 cum agetur, inquit, aut caput amici aut fama, declinandum est de via, ut etiam iniquam voluntatem *illius* adiutemus.

Ipsius is used as a possessive, meaning " his own " or " its own ", in ten places. Being naturally emphatic, it is to be expected that *ipsius* should stand before the noun. It has that position four times, as in I 26.3 in *ipsius* commentariis exposita sunt. Six times, however, it follows the noun.

Istius is used once as the third person possessive adjective. No special reason is apparent for its use, since *eius* might well have been used there (XVII 13.10).

The genitive case of *is* when used in Gellius for the possessive adjective of the third person is used and treated precisely like the possessive adjectives; it is placed after the noun for clearness and before it for emphasis. Used in this way it has ceased to be felt as a demonstrative pronoun.

Appendix B. Demonstratives in Pairs

1. Two demonstratives used with a noun. Most of the passages in Gellius where two demonstrative adjectives together modify a noun have already been cited under the head of separation in connection with the different demonstratives. For the purpose of comparison they are all brought together here. In 52 places a noun is modified by two demonstratives. With one exception (*ipse hic* used as predicate after *esse*) the pairs precede the noun. The pair is separated from the noun occasionally. In a few instances they are separated from each other by a single word. Eleven combinations of the six demonstratives occur with a noun; that at the left in the tabulation is the prior member:

	is	*idem*	*hic*	*ille*	*iste*	*ipse*
is						10
idem	1		1	13	2	6
hic		5				7
ille						
iste						2
ipse			1	4		

a) *Idem ille* (13) usually means " the same " ; *ille* is weak.

b) *Is ipse* (10) is hardly more than an emphatic *is*.

c) *Hic ipse* (7) is used as an emphatic *hic*.

d) *Idem ipse* (6) is an emphatic *idem* and means " the very same ". The last three combinations show how *ipse* was used to strengthen the demonstratives which had become weakened in the course of time.

e) *Hic idem* (5) : *hic* is little more than the article.

f) *Ipse ille* (4): *ille* is again the weak element in this combination as in *idem ille*.

g) *Iste ipse* (2) : *iste* has the force of the article.

h) *Idem iste* (2) means " the same " ; *iste* is weak.

i) *Idem hic* (1) means the same as e) above.

j) *Idem is* (1): the MSS. are not unanimous in supporting the presence of *is* (VI 1.11).

k) *Ipse hic* (1) is the reverse of c) above and is found only as the predicate after the verb *esse*.

2. Two demonstratives used without a noun. Two demonstratives not modifying a noun but used substantively occur in Gellius 70 times. Nine different combinations are used, all of which occur among the eleven combinations which are used with nouns :

	is	*idem*	*hic*	*ille*	*iste*	*ipse*
is						38
idem			1	2	1	8
hic		4				5
ille						
iste						
ipse			2	7		

a) *Is ipse* (38) : more than one half of the total number of pairs of demonstratives used substantively consist of this combination ; *ipse* adds emphasis to *is*.

b) *Idem ipse* (8) has sometimes the chief emphasis on the first and at other times on the second word, meaning " the same " or " the very one".

c) *Ipse ille* (7) usually means "that" or "just that". *Ille* does not seem to be the weaker element as in the instances where this combination modifies a noun.

d) *Hic ipse* (5) usually has the force of an emphatic *hic*, probably meaning "just this".

e) *Hic idem* (4) means "the same"; *hic* is weak.
f) *Idem ille* (2) means "the same"; *ille* is weak.
g) *Ipse hic* (2) appears to have about the force of an emphatic *hic*.
h) *Idem hic* (1) means simply "the same".
i) *Idem iste* (1) also means "the same".

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